

AMERICA

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Chronicle

Home News.—The Republican convention opened on June 8, with 984 delegates and 13,000 spectators present, in the Coliseum at Chicago. Senator Lodge took the

Republican Convention

chair as temporary chairman and made the keynote speech. Later he was selected by the committee on permanent organization as permanent chairman, and this choice was indorsed by the convention. The proceedings of the convention were held up for some time on account of the difficulty experienced by the platform committee in reaching an agreement with regard to the treaty. A compromise was finally effected and the balloting began. A deadlock prevailed, and as it soon became apparent that none of the more prominent candidates would consent to allow his delegates to transfer their votes to any of his rivals, a compromise candidate was selected. The choice fell on Senator Harding, of Ohio, and on June 12, he was nominated on the tenth ballot by a vote of 692, Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, being unanimously nominated for Vice-President.

Senator Lodge, in his speech, with which the convention opened, said clearly that the main issue of the campaign was concerned with the treaty:

Senator Lodge's Speech

We have stopped Mr. Wilson's treaty and the question goes to the people. In 1916 Mr. Wilson won on the cry that "He had kept us out of war." He now demands the approval of the American people for his party and his Administration on the ground that he has kept us out of peace. We of the Senate believe that we have performed a high and patriotic duty and we ask you, representatives of the Republican party, to approve our course and stand by what we have done. The next act will fill a larger stage and the people will decide between us and the President. The League must be discussed in every district and in every State and we desire to have the verdict so clearly given that no man who seeks to represent the people in the Senate, in the House, or in any place or any degree, can have the slightest doubt as to his duty. We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's League and its sacrifice of America.

He formulated the general policy of the Republican party as follows: "Let us stand fast by the principles and policies of Washington and Monroe and against—utterly against—those of Mr. Wilson. We must be now and ever for Americanism and nationalism, and against internationalism." "It is our first duty as Americans to re-establish certain essential principles which have been shaken and invaded." This invasion, he said, had been carried on by "Mr. Wilson and his dynasty."

They must be driven from office and power not because they are Democrats but because Mr. Wilson stands for a theory of administration and government which is not American. His methods, his constant if indirect assaults upon the Constitution and upon all the traditions of free government, strike at the very life of the American principles upon which our Government has always rested. . . . The peril inseparable from Mr. Wilson and his system goes far beyond all party divisions, for it involves the fundamental question of whether the Government of the United States shall be a Government of laws and not of men, whether it shall be a free representative Government or that of a dictatorship resting on a plebiscite carried by repellant methods.

The details by which he professed to substantiate his charges against the "autocracy" of the Democratic Administration were in large measure a repetition and a summary of the criticisms made against the Government on the floor of the Senate since the armistice.

Mr. Lodge indulged in drastic criticism of the Democratic Administration's policy of "watchful waiting" in Mexico, attributing the anarchy which reigns in that

country to the President's support of Carranza. He complained bitterly of the 600 murders of American citizens for which no reparation was made, the unchecked anti-American propaganda carried on in the United States by Mexico, and the repeated insults to our Government and our utter loss of influence and prestige. Mr. Lodge declared that nothing would ever be accomplished in Mexico under the Wilson Administration or any administration in sympathy with it. "Their miserable record of hopeless failure in Mexico has been unbroken for seven years."

The time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation, which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to our civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home in Mexico. If we assert and protect the Monroe Doctrine against Europe, as we must for our own safety, we must also accept and fulfill the duties and responsibilities which that doctrine imposes.

Mr. Lodge drew a sharp contrast between the neglect of conditions in Mexico and the desire to assume a mandate over Armenia.

On June 10 the National Republican Convention adopted the party's platform. It begins by summarizing the "outstanding features" of the present Administration as "complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace." The platform then promises

*The
Platform*

that the Republican party will put an "end to executive autocracy" and will "restore to the people their Constitutional Government." It also promises the farmer that his present economic problems will be satisfactorily solved, recognizes the justice of collective bargaining, but denies the right to strike against the Government. Regarding labor and public utilities the platform states:

We favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service to the lives and health and welfare of the people, the decisions of the tribunal to be morally, but not legally, binding, and an informed public sentiment to be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunal, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted there. . . . In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion.

After rebuking the President for clinging "tenaciously to his autocratic war-time powers," the platform takes up the question of taxes and suggests the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. A fifty per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit is assigned as the prime cause of the present high cost of living and effective relief-measures are

promised. Government ownership of the railroads is repudiated, and the party pledges itself to an "immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace." Better tests for immigrants and a wiser economic distribution of our alien population are urged, free speech, free press and free assembly for all except those who advocate resistance to the law and the violent overthrow of the Government, are demanded. The present Administration is condemned for its "destruction of the efficiency of the postal service" and for its failure to compensate employees adequately, women are welcomed into "full participation in the affairs of Government" and Republican State Legislatures are urged to ratify the Suffrage amendment.

"We indorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training," is the platform's reference to the Smith-Towner bill, but nothing is said about a Secretary of Education. The Administration's foreign policy is characterized as founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence is impaired and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

The Republican party would "afford full and adequate protection" to every American's "life, liberty and property and all international rights," but would "manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations." The present Administration's Mexican policy is severely scored and the Republican party pledges itself

to a consistent, firm and effective policy toward Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in connection with an established international law and our treaty rights.

The mandate for Armenia is repudiated though sympathy is expressed for the people of that unhappy country. The hopes of those who looked for at least a similar expression of sympathy for Ireland in her struggle for independence were disappointed, nor was anything said about Prohibition either.

The most important plank in the platform came last and was a total rejection of the League of Nations as fathered by the President. The Republicans protest that they stand for an "agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world" and for the creation of an "international association" for that purpose. They hold that,

all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this purpose and contained stipulations not only

intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policy in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administrators for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiments of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way without any change and without any regard to the opinion of the majority of the Senate which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths, according to their judgment, upon the treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority, under the Constitution, was theirs and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity, and we pledge the coming Republican Administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

The Supreme Court of the United States, on June 7, handed down its decision on the seven cases which involved the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Enforcement act. The Court ruled that an explicit declaration of the necessity of the amendment in the resolution proposing an amendment was not necessary; that the two-thirds votes required in each house referred to two-thirds of the members present, and not to two-thirds of the entire membership; that referendum provisions of particular States cannot be applied consistently with the Constitution of the United States in the ratification or rejection of an amendment. Taking up the constitutionality of the amendment itself the Court said:

The prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation and exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, as embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment, is within the power to amend reserved by Article V of the Constitution.

That amendment by lawful proposal and ratification has become a part of the Constitution, and must be respected and given effect the same as other provisions of that instrument.

The first section of the amendment—the one embodying the prohibition—is operative throughout the entire territorial limits of the United States, binds all legislative bodies, courts, public officers and individuals within those limits and of its own force invalidates any legislative act—whether by Congress, by a State Legislature or by a territorial assembly—which authorizes or sanctions what the section prohibits.

On the question of "concurrent power" the Court declared that the States have no power to defeat or thwart Prohibition by legislation, but only to enforce it; that the expression, "concurrent power" does not mean

joint power, that the approval of States legislatures is not required for the effective enforcement of Prohibition; that the power of enforcement is not "provided between the separate States and Congress, along the lines which separate or distinguish foreign and inter-State commerce from intra-State affairs."

The power confided to Congress by that section, while not exclusive, is territorially coextensive with the prohibition of the first section, embraces manufacture and other intrastate transactions as well as importation, exportation and interstate traffic, and is in nowise depended on or affected by action or inaction on the part of several States or any of them.

That power may be asserted against the disposal for beverage purposes of liquor manufactured before the amendment became effective, yet as it may be against subsequent manufacture for those purposes. In either case it is a constitutional mandate or Prohibition that is being enforced.

The Court also ruled that the limits of the power given to Congress to enforce Prohibition was not transcended by the provision of the Volstead act wherein liquors containing as much as one-half of one per cent of alcohol by volume and fit for use for beverage purposes are treated within that power.

The decision on the constitutionality of the amendment was unanimous, but on the question of concurrent power three justices filed dissenting opinions. Justice Clark dissented from the paragraphs of the decision which define the meaning of concurrent power, Justice McReynolds withheld his opinion reserving freedom to pronounce on specific questions as they arise, and Justice McKenna dissented from the opinion that asserts the supremacy of the power of Congress over that of the States in case of conflict. He maintains that the framers meant just what they said in the second article of the amendment, and that whereas according to the decision of the Court, they "selected words that expressed the opposite of what they meant—expressed concurrent action instead of substitute action. I cannot assent. I believe they meant what they said."

Germany.—The elections in Germany have resulted in a strengthening of the extreme elements to right and left. The coalition Government of which the Center is a

Important German Elections

member still remains in power, but apparently has been weakened as a result of the elections. The Reichstag seats will be divided as follows: Majority Socialists, 109; Independent Socialists, 76; Centrists, 66; National party, 62; *Volkspartei*, 62; Democrats, 44. The Bavarian *Volkspartei*, which elected nineteen of its candidates under the leadership of Dr. Heim, is a section of the old Center. It has separated from that party and is advancing under its own banner. The Center, however, can doubtless count upon its cooperation. The Guelphs elected five members, while the Bavarian Peasants' party elected four. The total of Reichstag members will be 447. The radical Left, the Independents and Communists have taken for their watchword: "The dictatorship of the

proletariat." The gains of this party are an evil omen for Germany. The strengthening of the Right presents an additional danger to the Coalition Government, whose position will probably not be clear until the various parties have come into the open and determined to what side they will give their support. The Democratic press continues to declare it a necessity for the *Volkspartei* to place its strength alongside that of the old coalition. With certain reservations and precautions, the party leaders seem willing to do this. Shortly before the elections the nearest living relative of Ludwig Windthorst sent out an appeal to the Centrists asking them, in the name of their great founder, to hold together in closed ranks. Windthorst's greatest purpose was to bring about a perfect unity within the party. "The recognized 'coalition' Government and its results," says this scion of the Windthorst family, "are not ideal, but they are the only thing attainable under existing circumstances, the lesser evil, the prudent means to be used against opponents."

Ireland.—Complete returns in the County Council elections indicate a sweeping Sinn Fein victory. There were 699 seats open to contest, and of these Sinn Fein,

**Sinn Fein
Elections**

as a distinct party, won 525, the combined forces of Sinn Fein, Labor and Nationalists carrying 590. It is becoming increasingly evident that the administration of affairs in Ireland is peaceably passing into the hands of the Sinn Fein Government. A recently published record declares that police and judicial cases, to the number of fifty-seven, have been handled by officials of the Republic since April 15, and Irish lawyers assert that their practice is disappearing because the people are referring their disputes to the Sinn Fein courts with the understanding that they shall abide by the decisions therein rendered. Meanwhile the British Cabinet has been discussing the Irish problem, not with a view to making concessions, but for the purpose of considering what further penal measures can be invoked to enforce British rule. Certain of the Unionists, particularly those in Birmingham, have strongly demanded a "Cromwell" to handle Ireland.

Mexico.—In the hearing before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Dudley W. Robinson, assistant United States attorney for the southern district of California, gave evidence to prove a fact long known to all acquainted with Mexican affairs—namely, that the American I. W. W. and the radicals in general aided the revolution with money and in other ways. His testimony found in Part XVII, pages 2497-2518.

Mother Elias De Sta Saeto, who gave her name in religion as Maria Elias del Santissimo Sacramento and her family name as Maria Thierry, a discaled Carmelite, and at present a refugee from Mexico, testified at length to the fact that churches had been desecrated and looted, sacred vestments and vessels had been deliberately

profaned, the Sacred Host repeatedly thrown to the horses and shot at, and nuns and other women grossly ill-treated. Part XVIII, pages 2649-2656. In this she but confirmed all preceding witnesses who spoke from knowledge of revolutionary tactics.

The Rev. Francis P. Joyce, in the course of his testimony, Part XVIII, said this about Huerta:

FATHER JOYCE. He was afterwards put under \$38,000 bond, which his wife furnished, a cash bond, and was sent out under guard of five civilian secret-service men to Fort Bliss. His prison there was cold and he became sick. I then wired the Department of Justice that he had a bad cold and was a pretty sick man, and I feared he would get pneumonia and die where he was. I asked that he be permitted to go down town and have the care of his family at the home which his wife had rented for herself and children on Stanton Street. That permission was granted. A few nights later Huerta sent for me and told me that a Mr. Dubose, whose office was in the Federal building, had visited him and said that he wanted \$5,000 or he would have Huerta returned to the prison at Fort Bliss.

MR. KEARFUL. Who was Dubose?

FATHER JOYCE. Dubose, I think, was chief of the civilian secret service in that district at that time.

MR. KEARFUL. That secret service was under the Department of Justice, was it?

FATHER JOYCE. I think so. I told Huerta that Dubose could not do that, and Huerta said, "I don't want to be sent back to that place, but I haven't \$5,000 to give him."

MR. KEARFUL. You did not believe that Dubose would do such a thing?

FATHER JOYCE. No, sir. The next night Huerta sent for me again and said Dubose had again sent word that his price had been raised to \$8,000, and if the money was not handed him the following day by 5 o'clock, he would send Huerta back to the prison at Fort Bliss. Again I told Huerta they were just teasing him, and was surprised the next evening to learn that Huerta had been sent back to Fort Bliss. I visited him there and told one of his guards, a civilian secret-service man, to call up Dubose and have Huerta moved back to his home, where his wife could give him some care, otherwise I would endeavor to bring up charges for extortion against Dubose. Huerta was immediately returned to his home.

Some nights later his wife sent for me and said that she believed he was dying. She said the previous night at a late hour a man who spoke excellent Spanish and had whiskers, who said he was a physician and a great admirer of Huerta, visited him, examined him, and told him unless he underwent an operation immediately he would be dead in twenty-four hours. He alarmed Mrs. Huerta so much that she consented with Huerta to the operation. He said he had no anesthetic, and made some abdominal incisions in Huerta without administering any anesthetic. I went back to Fort Bliss and asked two medical officers, Major McAndrew and Dr. Norman, to come with me to see Huerta. That was the night after the operation. They examined him and said that the operation had been unnecessary; that if it had been sewed up immediately afterward, he would have lived, but now complications had set in and they gave him two days to live.

MR. KEARFUL. How long did he live?

FATHER JOYCE. About three days after the operation, sir.

MR. KEARFUL. Who do you think is responsible for it (the persecution of Huerta)?

FATHER JOYCE. As a soldier, I don't know. (Part XVIII, pages 2656-2663.)

The rest of part XVIII will be synopsized in next week's issue.

The Agrarian Confederation of Spain

JOSEPH A. VAUGHAN, S. J.

A SHORT time ago the National Catholic Agrarian Confederation held in Madrid its fifth general assembly and what might informally be termed its second annual convention. Its revelations are interesting, and as an American abroad, I feel it a duty to allow Americans at home to share, and express on occasion, due admiration for the work accomplished by our co-religionists in Spain. Americans feel they have international patent rights on efficiency, especially since the collapse of the German machine. The present article, of necessity concise and statistical, may disabuse them. Certainly when one sees this stalwart youngster of three years, something more than precocious and talkative, tramping over the length and breadth of the Peninsula, pointing out social and agrarian evils that have held back the Spanish nation, suggesting and supplying the remedies and getting results; moreover, when one sees all this in a nation that our Anglo-Saxon histories are wont to paint as torpid, sluggish, stunted, the superstitious devotee of ancient traditions and the willing slave of a clerical oligarchy, one finds great pleasure in being disabused.

Spanish periodical literature is replete with praises of the C. N. C. A., as the association is generally known. To quote from *El Debate*, the great Catholic daily:

We have a closely woven net of farming syndicates spread all over Spain. . . . This Catholic social action has been a splendid triumph; it is a tremendous force for order, the source of national prosperity, a powerful bulwark against Socialism, the cement binding together all classes in the nation, and finally the one hope for Catholicism. Foreigners studying the situation either as economists or sociologists express wonder and curiosity. "How has this been accomplished," they exclaim, "in so short a time?" No greater benefit has been conferred on Spain in a century. This agrarian organization is certainly a real motive for pride.

It is gratifying to note that the so-called dead weight of clericalism was the prime factor in the movement. Some eleven years ago, Padre Antonio Vicent, then a young Jesuit student, had been sent up to Belgium for a course in biology. Unlike the German professor who regretted on his death bed that he had taken for his life study the *entire* fly instead of confining himself to the left hind leg, this young Jesuit had one eye on his microscope and the other on the Belgian commonwealth. Belgium's Catholic social methods had revolutionized agricultural life. That thought was both inspiring and distracting. So the youthful priest abandoned his microscope and test tubes, returned to his native land, and securing ecclesiastical sanction, bent to an unpleasant task. Spain had long been suffering from a system of landed gentry and their agricultural serfs. The farmers, especially in the South, eked a precarious existence on borrowed soil, and their spare pesetas filled the coffers of urban aristocrats. To threaten these parasites with

all the bloody reprisals that followed in the wake of the Louises and during a century or more periodically inundated French soil with human blood, Spain needed a man with power, integrity of life and unlimited audacity. Padre Vicent played the part and was relentless and fearless. Madrid had to listen; also Seville, Valencia, Toledo, Barcelona, Valladolid, all in fact that harbored the swollen pest. Providentially his pointed logic pricked the more generous minded to action. He then took to the fields and traversing the entire Peninsula drove home a message to the not too intellectual pueblos. The evil from above he told them would be remedied; but there was an evil below. Their system of farming must undergo radical changes. Science must replace native ingenuity. He painted pictures of prosperity in the North. He gave general outlines of modern methods, rotation of crops, selection of seed, artificial fertilization, irrigation, breeding of stock; methods of harvesting, of buying and selling in common; and finally he visualized for them the necessity of organization and mutual financial assistance, all of which should be based on the sound principles of charity taught by the Church. Peculiar apostolate this for a Catholic priest! But the young man was wiser than his generation. His work at best was discouraging, and like many another pioneer he died without seeing the fruit. But the tiny seed had been sown. A few of the landed gentry had responded, while among the pueblos, chiefly in Leon and Old Castile, the people had formed syndicates and the syndicates two provincial federations. In 1916 when these two federations united, the national organization came into embryonic existence and in 1917 was born. Such in brief its genesis. The following table shows its astonishing growth:

	Federations	Syndicates	Families
1914.....	12	500	150,000
1915.....	14	600	185,000
1916.....	18	1,100	225,000
1917.....	24	1,900	250,000
1918.....	33	2,200	275,000
1919.....	57	4,000	500,000

Note that the family, not the individual, is the ultimate unit—Christian ethics as opposed to Socialism. During the last year the organization has practically doubled, having at present over 500,000 families or 2,500,000 members, more than half the farming population of Spain. With such progress another year will see the C. N. C. A. universally recognized.

But what is the C. N. C. A.? Briefly it is the union of the agricultural interests of Spain with a view to mutual assistance, and agricultural, economic and moral progress. It is based on the social teachings of the Catholic Church, and unflinchingly clings to the principles of religion, the family and property as the fundamentals of

social order, in direct opposition to the counterdenials of Socialism. It teaches the necessity and practice of virtue, especially of justice, honor and toil. Other things being equal, it is devoted to the poor as being the most needy class. But it is not paternalistic; it is based on mutual self-sufficiency. It teaches that if harmony is to prevail, personal and social differences must be dissolved by love and coöperation. Politics are tabooed, but national issues are watched, and praised or condemned. The institution is frankly Catholic, boldly displaying everywhere the banner of Catholicism, subservient in everything to the laws of the Church. Its slogan is "*Unos por otros y Dios por Todos.*" Each for the other and God for us all. As a result we find erstwhile indolent landowners, devoting their time, money and terrain to the interests of the worker, their unselfish prodigality persuading us that something higher than human eloquence and servile fear has moved them. They "have learned the luxury of doing good."

The admonition of Leo XIII, "There should be many small landowners," has become a fixed principle. By means of a rural monetary system established all over the country, not only have the laborers been put into possession of their own soil, but carried along until self-supporting. Money thus utilized is recorded as follows:

1917.....	60,000,000 pesetas
1918.....	125,000,000 "
1919.....	200,000,000 "

These funds have been lent the farmer at five, four or three per cent, and it is hoped shortly even to lower this interest. This same system of rural banks does a business in saving deposits that is a perfect criterion, and gives us at once an insight into the peculiar character of the poorer Spaniards and the material aggrandizement that now accrues as the result of proper instruction. Hitherto they have had no confidence in the Spanish banks. Their savings were hoarded in the home, and thus unproductive. But confidence in the C. N. C. A. was immediate, as seen from annual deposits.

1916.....	30,000,000 pesetas
1917.....	57,000,000 "
1918.....	200,000,000 "
1919.....	600,000,000 "

Naturally these tremendous sums, hitherto idle, have now been mobilized for the welfare of the nation in general, and for the farming class in particular. This capital has rescued hundreds of thousands from the hands of the usurer, and converted thousands of tenants into small proprietors. At the end of 1919 twenty vast pieces of territory had been purchased and disposed of. These rural banks conducted in the larger pueblos, are subservient to federal banks in each province, and these ultimately regulated by the Central Confederated Bank in Madrid. Movement of vast sums to points of vantage is thus facilitated, and the entire system operates with machine-like perfection. As a social system it is unique; as an economic system its foundation is solid, and no

fears are held as to its future. The whole is conducted by specially chosen business men who unite the highest Christian spirit with the greatest prestige and ability in agrarian, social and financial affairs.

The commercial section, closely harmonized with the banking system, attends to purchases and the marketing of products, as well in Spain as in foreign countries. A special bank, capitalized at 15,000,000 pesetas, has been established for this purpose. A vast clientele, millions of small purchases multiplied many times during the year, and the tiny commission charged, justify its existence. Purchase in common has been systematized. Whatever is necessary, as artificial fertilizers, seeds, vines, trees, farming implements, tractors, special stock, food supplies, clothing, etc., is bought in this way. The Confederation informs the federations that a list of purchases, definite materials for a definite date, is being drawn up; the federations inform the syndicates, and these in turn the individual members. Orders, drawn up in form, are handed in to the syndicates, and pass then through the federations to the central headquarters. The Confederation judges of the solvency of the federation, the federation of the syndicate, and the syndicate of the individual. The Commercial Bank makes the purchases, its agents seeking the cheapest markets in the world. As is evident purchases amount to enormous quantities with corresponding cut in price. Goods purchased are distributed in inverse order. Home products are marketed in a similar manner. Spain is certainly meeting its troubles with the profiteer. Americans might learn a lesson.

Other sections of the C. N. C. A. can only be named. Certainly the scope of the organization is so vast and comprehensive, that we Americans, with our passion for piece work and specialization, might *a priori* condemn it to failure. Besides the banking and commercial system, we find reports of old age, health, death and fire insurance, and insurance of stock and crops. Tractor farming has been initiated, the machines often belonging to the syndicates. The writer saw substantial proof of the progress when, during a recent visit to Bilbao, he beheld about 1,500 tons of American tractors piled up on the docks. During the last year 20,000 tons of imported phosphates were distributed. It is only lately that the Spanish farmer is beginning to realize the value of chemical fertilizers. The C. N. C. A., hoping to make the nation independent in this regard, has experts probing the local phosphate beds with a view to economical exploitation. Technical farming is encouraged and taught. A corps of specialists in all the branches of agriculture, in the manufacture of dairy products, and the care of stock, is constantly on the road. Portable laboratories go with them. Staunch adherence to ancient traditions is gradually breaking down. Circles of studies have been organized, sustained chiefly by several grades of periodicals, adapted to the needs and intelligence of the various classes. Illustrations of prize stock, beautiful orchards and well-

cultivated fields are more eloquent than words for these simple people. In a recent issue, plans and details of portable houses as used in western Oregon held an element of surprise for the writer.

The C. N. C. A. is entering industrial life, and several serious strikes have already been averted or settled. Likewise it has gone into the home, not to disrupt it like the Socialist, but to make the hearth more bright and cheerful. Health and hygiene are emphasized. Young mothers are rescued from overwork, and new-born babes from malnutrition. For this there is a ladies' auxiliary. Education is supplied where lacking. Gilds are established for youths that have finished their schooling, and who until married generally languish in the streets with dire and irremediable results to morals. The day of rest is advocated; gambling and taverns condemned and supplanted by suitable recreation in the syndicate gilds. Employment agencies gather in the idle. In fact anything that will help improve agrarian conditions, and establish authority, discipline and order in society, the family and schools, finds a place on the program.

Some have called the organization Catholic Socialism. It is spiritual Socialism as opposed to materialistic. The latter takes no cognizance of the soul, and hence neglects the very basis of social union. By nature man is gregarious, not by choice; and the specific characteristics of that nature—reason, speech—are rooted in the soul. Materialistic Socialism has been based on the corrupted principles of Christian justice and charity, virtues of the soul; hence its partial success. But it is bound to fail. A society of human beings founded solely on economy is unbearable. Says Sr. Antonio Monedero, President of the C. N. C. A., a man by the way who is a second Windhorst, though in another field, and in whom Spain seems to have found its leader: "Wherever our syndicates and federations have entered, Socialism has beat a hasty and clumsy retreat; its organization crumpled like a house of cards." Time and its present progress will make the C. N. C. A. the most influential body in Spain, for the good both of individual and nation. And already the Socialistic demagogues who sprang up everywhere a few years since, are vanishing as mysteriously as they came.

Dishonest Philosophers

H. C. HENGELL

GERTRUDE ATHERTON, noted novelist and expert delineator of character, declares: "The Socialist mind is essentially dishonest, although in the case of the finer breed of Socialists not consciously so; but this subconscious dishonesty, the natural result of a weak cause, leads them to play up one side of any occurrence that gives them a momentary advantage and to ignore the whole truth."

Men and women who are radical and sensational in their attitude toward religion, morality and social order do indeed seem to have minds incapable of sound and honest judgment. To be sensational seems to be more important to them than to be thoroughly honest in their conclusions. They readily sacrifice truth for an epigram or catch-phrase that appeals more to feeling or prejudice than to sober judgment.

Atheists and agnostics also build up their theories on half truths and misrepresentations. It is characteristic of the propagandists of agnosticism to misstate or to understate the arguments upon which humanity justifies its constant and almost universal belief in the existence of God.

I know a propagandist of agnosticism in a State university who persistently misstates the principle of causation, one of the fundamental principles of all sound and normal reasoning. He formulates it as "*everything* must have an adequate cause" instead of "*every event, everything that comes into existence* must have an adequate cause." Thus he argues: "If *everything* must have an adequate cause, how about God, the first cause? If the

first cause, God, must have an adequate cause, then there is something, a cause, which is prior to Him. This is absurd because in that case either He would not be the first cause, or it is not necessarily and universally true that *everything* must have an adequate cause."

It is surely dishonest thus to ignore the correct formulation of the principle of causation so strongly stressed by logicians: Not *everything that is* must have an adequate cause, but *everything that becomes, that comes into existence*, must have an adequate cause for its *becoming* or *coming into existence*.

The obvious existence of beings that have come into existence demands a cause other than themselves. They could not give themselves existence for that would involve the absurdity of action on their part before their existence. Their cause must be sought in beings existing prior to them. These prior causes are either beings that exist forever and have never *come into existence* or they are beings that *have come into existence*, in which case they in their turn require an adequate cause for their *coming into existence*. And so on indefinitely.

The mind, however, finally and necessarily demands the existence of a first cause which is itself uncaused in order to explain how anything ever *came into existence*. The first cause is *not* self-caused. It is simply eternally existent and thus it alone finally explains how anything ever *came into existence*. To deny the necessary and eternal existence of the first cause as the only final and possible explanation for anything else *coming into existence* is to deny reason itself in one of its first and funda-

mental operations. If we cannot trust reason here we can trust it nowhere. If we can trust reason nowhere, then good logic and bad logic are one and the same thing, perhaps and perhaps not, wild movements in the brain of a bewildered ape.

The attempt to limit reason's fundamental principle, the principle of causation, to the world of experience and observation, and to deny its authority in the world that transcends sense experience is either consciously or subconsciously dishonest. Experience and observation themselves presuppose and take for granted the universal truth and validity of the principle of causation. Reason must have ready for use the principle of causation before it can see any connection between facts observed and their explanation.

It is not experience and observation that lead the mind to invent or create the principle of causation in order to find the meaning of what is experienced and observed, but it is the principle of causation, the fundamental essential manner in which the mind functions, that leads the mind even to try to explain and to interpret what is experienced and observed. Thus the principle of causation is itself *prior* to all experience and observation. It is a necessary and universal principle of all reasoning, without which the mind would be helpless or non-existent not only in the sphere beyond the range of sense experience and observation (metaphysics) but also within that range.

Experience may indeed call our attention to the existence of the principle of causation in the mind, but experience does not put it there. The mind could not function, in fact it would not be mind, without fundamental laws or principles with which to operate. To discredit the universal application of these principles, including the principle of causation, is to discredit the mind itself and open the door to universal skepticism in which we should have to doubt that we must doubt that we doubt everything. What insanity! Yet universal skepticism can be the only outcome of those modern systems of philosophy, "huge syntheses of humbug" Chesterton calls them, which doubt or deny the necessary and universal validity of the principle of causation.

Agnosticism is like a serpent. Hit it on the head and the tail bobs up. Hit it on the tail and the head bobs up. Granting that the first cause must be eternal, our agnostic is likely to assert that the universe itself is the first cause, that it is eternal, and that all phenomena, events, changes, are merely "phases or manifestations" of one and the same eternal universe. The process, if such it is, is one of eternal evolution.

Point out that this implies a contradiction in ideas, that what is eternal or infinite can have no addition or divisions, and you may get the flippant but dishonest retort that the additions and divisions are merely "phases and manifestations" of one and the same eternal reality, the universe.

In other words, we are asked to believe that all events

and changes in the universe, your birth and my birth, are not realities but merely phases or manifestations of the only thing that has reality; namely, the universe. There is but one substance, forsooth, and you and I are not ourselves but only manifestations of that one substance. No matter what virtues we may practise, no matter what vices we may indulge in, neither the credit nor the blame belongs to us. These are mere phases or manifestations of the one substance or reality that winds and unwinds itself forever.

Certain "highbrows," that is to say, certain university men and women who have too much education for their intelligence, are fond of saying stuff like that. It is such a cheap and easy method of appearing to be an advanced and original thinker. It is radicalism for the sake of radicalism, sensationalism for the sake of sensationalism. It is the spirit that animates "the callow minds of sophomores and undergraduates in universities," but it indicates "a mind consciously, or subconsciously, dishonest."

Viewing the Negro Supernaturally

WILLIAM M. MARKOE, S. J.

IN these days of renewed missionary endeavor the religious condition of the Negro in the United States is wholesome food for thought. The colored population of the country numbers about 11,000,000, some 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of whom are unbaptized. In the case of most of those who are presumably baptized we cannot vouch for the validity of the Sacrament. Lastly, the religion of many of those who are really baptized is not of such a nature as to cause them to keep the Ten Commandments. There are, then, living in our fair land some 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 semi-pagan Negroes. These for the most part inhabit our Southern States, especially, the so-called "Black Belt" of the South. The number of Catholic colored people in the United States is a bare 200,000. Over half of these are converts of the past ten or fifteen years.

Have American Catholics nothing to reproach themselves with in accounting for the lamentable condition of our colored people? Doubtless the American Church has had her dioceses and parishes to organize, her churches to erect, her schools to build. Yet from the dawn of American history, until the present, the Catholic priest has found time and sufficient freedom from the care of whites to leave our new-born colonies, our growing young cities, our centers of civilization to plunge into the forests and jungles, to cross trackless prairies and towering mountains in search of the roaming red savage, that he might make him of the elect of God. We should be proud that the Church in America can point to such a glorious record, and to one so productive of precious fruit; but where has been our Catholic zeal for the black man? The Providence of God sent the Negro to us and set him down in our midst, where for generations he has been living in peaceful docility, sociable, easily approached,

speaking our own language, yet, even until today, practically wholly ignorant of the Catholic Faith.

There is one cause which probably accounts best for the present religious status of the American Negro. It is the unique social position occupied by the blacks of our land. The Negroes are the outcasts, the Pariahs of America. The American is peculiar in his repugnance for the Negro. Mention anything approaching an intimate recognition of the Negro and a shiver runs down his back. What we are concerned with, however, is not the social relationship of the two races, but the religious dependence of one upon the other. Have American Catholics allowed the social barrier which exists between the white man and the Negro unduly to influence their spiritual interdependence? Some day God will demand of us why so many millions of pagan, semi-pagan, and non-Catholic American Negroes have perished forever. God forbid, that on that day these millions of black hands be raised to witness against us!

It is to be feared that the extravagant notions entertained about the Negro, representing him as unique among the races for certain imperfections, have exerted a wide influence in neutralizing our interest in the colored man's salvation. "Do you not take chances in baptizing a Negro?" "Will he be faithful to his obligations?" "Will he persevere as a Catholic?" These are common questions, to which the priests in the field answer that the Negro once converted is tenacious of the Catholic Faith. The innumerable examples of heroic fidelity to the Church on the part of colored Catholics, in view of the fact that there is but a mere handful of our black co-religionists in the country, is a good argument for the enduring stability of the Negro convert. Perhaps few whites have heard or read of the saintly Julia Greely who died in Denver a few years ago and whose remains were laid out in state in the church for the veneration of the Faithful, an honor never paid to any other Catholic lay-person in the State of Colorado. She was an ex-slave and a convert. An old blind colored woman died a few years ago in St. Louis who, though she earned only fifteen cents a day by selling peanuts, faithfully sent \$2.00 every year to our Holy Father the Pope. What a heroic example of loyalty to the Church! This woman was for years a daily communicant at the old Cathedral in St. Louis. Some years ago a prominent Catholic Negro lawyer was brought half-way across our continent to be the principal speaker at a large Negro celebration. A great concourse of colored people assembled for the occasion. It is probable that there was not a Catholic among them. The stage was bespangled with the white vests and gold watch-fobs of colored Protestant ministers, and deacons. The Catholic lawyer faced his audience as boldly as a lion. He brought his hearers to their feet by the beauty, force, and magnetism of his oratory. When he had gained this advantage, he began to tell them of the truest friend of the poor colored man, the Catholic Church. His loyalty to his Faith, his love for the Catholic

religion, forced him to speak her praises before that non-Catholic audience and to bear witness to her beauty and universal charity.

"Nevertheless, are not all Negroes liars and thieves?" It will suffice to answer that if we could manage to jail the white safe-blower, the parlor-Bolshevik, or the cold-blooded profiteer as efficiently as we nab the "darky" in the hen-roost or the "nigger" in the wood-pile, many of the more intricate problems of our country would be solved and our people would be happier. Many Negroes are entirely honest and, unlike Topsy, would not steal even a piece of ribbon. Many have a weakness for petty larceny. The same may be said of any race in the world. The members of some races of a lighter complexion often do not stop at larceny.

Some people are horrified at the brutal methods of the Negro murderer. He is usually not so refined or scientific as his white brother, except when the latter lynches, and then it must be said that the white seems to lose all his skill and becomes himself somewhat careless about his method. But with the Caucasian murder is generally something of a fine art. The Negro, in this art as in most others, is inferior to the white man. The Negro is naturally good-natured, peaceful, and docile.

But there is another commonly enough overdrawn caricature of the Negro. He is painted as only a material bundle of the most depraved and ferocious animal passions, grossly but cunningly ever seeking the opportunity of satisfying his base inclinations. Here too, the white man is more artistic and, in a false sense of the word, refined. Can white Americans cast reflections upon their swarthier fellow-citizens without the crimson blush stealing over their pale faces! Let that race which is not guilty cast the first stone at the poor African! It is well to remember that Negroes do not write our newspapers or novels; that the Negro is usually accused, seldom legally convicted; that when he is guilty, his perversion in many instances can be directly traced to the systematic exploitation, under police protection, of the black man on the part of the white. As fire-water was given to the Indian and his taste developed, so in many of our large cities choice vice is advertised and sold to the Negro.

It is not my purpose here to eulogize the Negro or to demand for him social equality. Suppose the popular notions of the Negro are not exaggerated, that he is as bad and even worse than painted, is this any reason why we American Catholics should allow his soul to be lost? Christ said that the well need not a physician, and that He came not to call the just, but sinners. If we have allowed, or are now permitting a natural repugnance, based either on exaggeration or fact, to lessen by one iota our zeal for the salvation of the colored people of our country, in just so far, we have failed, or are failing to take a supernatural view of the Negro. Zeal for souls is a supernatural virtue. It means that we rise above natural feelings of like or dislike, of affection or aversion, and viewing only the immortal soul of man, redeemed by the

Blood of Our Saviour, never cease to pray and labor for the salvation of that soul. The exterior may be crude and rough, but even from the dung-heap God can cause a beautiful flower to grow.

Do American Catholics, we wonder, so allow themselves to be influenced by a natural aversion for Negroes as to neglect the salvation of this poor people? The excerpts from Cardinal Vaughan's diary, printed in AMERICA for November 15, 1919, cause one to be suspicious. It is odd that England should found a congregation of priests to labor for the conversion of American Negroes, and that that same noble congregation should have such great difficulty in obtaining vocations in the United States. It is hard to understand how, though the black was emancipated over fifty years ago, there should today be so few colored Catholics; that over half of these should be converts of the past ten or fifteen years only. It seems strange that we have no Catholic colored schools of higher education and in consequence only five Catholic colored priests in the country. Africa has its native seminaries and clergy. It looks more suspicious when some white Catholics discriminate beyond all excess against colored people in Catholic churches. When the Catholic Negro does fall away this is often the real cause. There must always be social grades among Catholics, but such distinctions do not exempt a higher caste from the law of charity in respect to a lower, much less are they a license for insult and injury. Lastly, is it not queer that, in spite of the noble efforts of the American Hierarchy and the heroic patience of the Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People, Catholics today seem to be altogether careless and indifferent about the

Negro? What a long time is required for Monsignor Burke, the Director-General of the Board, to collect his Ruby Reserve Fund, a puny \$40,000, from the Catholics of the United States, with which he would save many souls for Heaven! Other drives go over the top in short order, but the poverty-stricken priests and Sisters of the South, with their poor churches and schools, are forgotten. Those who belong to the household of the Faith are being cruelly neglected.

Today Catholic America is expected to do great things in the foreign-mission world. God grant that the confidence rested in her be not misplaced, and that the foreign missions be always dear to her, and that she never neglect them. It should be remembered, however, that our zeal for peoples of other countries, if it is to be genuine, must be supernatural. Is it consistent for us to think we are zealous, to pray for the salvation of sinners, to fill our mite-box for the foreign missions, and at the same time, on account of a purely natural repugnance, be indifferent to the eternal fate of the Negro and perhaps even help exclude him from the means of salvation? Be zealous! But let us make our zeal supernatural and universal as the Catholic Church is. The colored man lives in our midst, is daily seen upon our streets, and so may not have the romantic appeal of the pagan in far-off Japan or China, but our zeal must be supernatural. Every American Catholic can be a Negro missionary by striving to take a supernatural view of the Negro and by affording him every opportunity for the salvation of his soul. Behold in the soul of the Negro the image of God and the religious problem of the colored race in America will be largely solved.

A Nefarious Anti-Catholic Scheme

DUDLEY G. WOOTEN

AFTER nearly a year of taking testimony and exploring sources of information concerning Mexican affairs and relations, the sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, which was composed of Senators Fall, Brandegee, and Smith of Arizona, has finished its work and made its report to the main committee. For the most part the report, aside from its voluminous and startling "exhibits," contains nothing new, but is merely a tentative exploitation of the same old platitudinous policy of "watchful waiting," and threats of holding Mexico to "a definite reckoning" for outrages on American rights and destruction of American lives and property, unless the authorities of that misgoverned and disorganized country shall afford protection in the future.

But there is one very concrete and practical recommendation, of such alarming magnitude and menace in its implications and proposals as to challenge the immediate attention of the Catholics of both countries, and to merit

the close scrutiny of lovers of religious freedom and equality everywhere. In this case it may with propriety be said that the mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse, if not a *monster*. The committee report suggests and urges that the Constitution of 1857 be substituted for that of 1917, as being more consonant with civil, religious and property rights of both citizens and foreigners. Apparently the Senators of the committee have overlooked or minimized the fact that the Constitution of 1857, with the so-called reform laws passed in pursuance thereof, is just as inimical to religious liberty and just as palpably framed to proscribe Catholicism, as that of 1917. The latter differs only in the radical extremes of iniquitous spoliation and persecution which were devised and added by the malevolent ingenuity of the Carranza régime. It is true that the force of public sentiment and the compelling circumstances of Mexican conditions served in great measure to render practically inoperative many of the more odious features of the "re-

forms" established under Comonfort and Juarez in the last century, but the letter of those discriminatory prohibitions against the Church was as rigid, if not as drastic, as that of the latest Mexican code of anti-Catholic and anti-religious proscriptions.

However, that is not the main feature of the Fall report. It is in the further recommendations that we find out what this much-advertised and long-drawn-out investigation really accomplished, or was cunningly perverted to accomplish. The committee itself may be innocent of intent to do what its recommendations will, if adopted and carried into effect, undoubtedly achieve, but any one at all familiar with facts and mindful of existing influences can hardly acquit the Senators of constructive complicity, without reflecting upon their intelligence and judgment.

The report recommends that Article 130 of the Carranza Constitution (1917) be so amended or interpreted that its prohibitive and punitive provisions against religious bodies and the ownership of property by religious corporations, as well as against the performance of religious rites, and the conduct of schools by Religious Orders and teachers, "shall not in future apply to American missionaries, preachers, ministers and teachers," but all of this class "shall be allowed freely to enter, pass through and reside in Mexico, there freely to reside, preach, teach and write, and hold property and conduct schools, without interference by the authorities so long as they do not participate in Mexican politics or revolutions." Also, that Article III of the same Constitution should be so changed that its provisions do not apply "to any American teaching or conducting primary schools." That article, as it now stands, prohibits any minister or any religious corporation from establishing, conducting or directing schools of primary instruction.

In other words, this Senatorial inquisition, after many months of probing into the monstrous cruelties and crimes of the late Carranza Government, the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on the prelates, priests and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church in Mexico, the desecration of her shrines, the confiscation of her properties, the banishment and murders of her highest ecclesiastics, the wanton defilement of her nuns, and the incredible blasphemies and sacrileges perpetrated upon all of the decencies and dignities of religion, to say nothing of the wrongs against American lives and security on the border and throughout the republic, finds it advisable only to recommend immunity and freedom for American preachers and pedagogues in that country, to be guaranteed either by treaty or by constitutional safeguards. The Catholic Church is to be left in its present despoiled and helpless condition, its rights unrestored and its freedom still denied, its wrongs unavenged by restitution and its sufferings not even commiserated; while the Protestant propaganda of a paganized education and a sterilized Christianity is to be assured free entrance and safe conduct, with a roving commission to proselyte, proscribe and persecute the hated

adherents of the "Roman" Faith. The Catholics of Mexico must remain in thralldom to the unjust and impious laws of 1857 and 1917, their hands tied, their lips sealed, their efforts paralyzed by those enactments, while to their otherwise intolerable misery is to be added the arrogant despotism of bigotry, prejudice and malignant misrepresentation, clothed in the robes of American citizenship and panoplied with the protection of the American Government. The ancestral Faith of the Mexican people, canonized by four centuries of almost universal popular acceptance and memorialized by every monument of culture and civilization that is left standing in their devastated land, must still rest under the ban of proscriptive and confiscatory edicts, while foreigners from the free Republic of the North, teaching new and strange doctrines of denunciation and hostility to the most sacred beliefs and practices of the native races, are permitted freely to revile the religion and ruin the institutions of that Church that alone has supported and succored liberty, enlightenment and a stable order in the land of revolution and disorder. Could anything be more preposterous or more repugnant to the American sense of justice and righteousness? Yet who doubts that this is exactly what will occur if this nefarious plan is carried out? We know to what lengths of evil practice and wicked report the frenzy of religious fanaticism and hate will go, even under institutions devoted to toleration and equality of religious rights. In our own country every day records some new manifestation of this malign spirit, while Ireland even now is passing through the latest and fiercest ordeal of her age-long struggle against the narrow tyranny and merciless cruelty of religious proscription.

Aside from the almost certain reign of religious discord and rivalry that will ensue from the plan thus proposed by the Senate committee, can the Catholics of either country afford to see that already prostrate people subjected to the paganizing influence of a system of secularized education such as has cursed our own country, and is today seeking to rivet its chains upon the minds and thoughts of the rising and future generations by Federal subsidies and a Federalized tyranny of control? Thoughtful and patriotic men everywhere in this land realize the futility of the kind of education that "American missionaries and teachers" have propagated at home, and the more serious and honest among us are candidly admitting that it is not only futile but desperately debauching to personal and national morality. Do we intend to enlarge its sphere of desolation, by introducing it by force of law and treaty into long suffering and helpless Mexico?

It is well known that the recent so-called "Inter-Church Movement," with its strenuous campaign to raise millions of money for religious and educational work, is merely a Protestant and anti-Catholic propaganda whose chief purpose it is to invade all the Catholic countries, in order to "convert" them to some one of the vagrant and variegated cults of paganized or de-Christianized sects that

constitute the body of organized Modernism. A simpler and more effective scheme for delivering Mexico into the lap of this movement can hardly be conceived than this proposal of the Falls Committee, and its practicability is so far assured under existing political conditions that the end would be clear and promptly achieved.

It may be seriously questioned whether, under the well-settled principles of international law and polity, the United States can successfully or even plausibly assert the right to claim for her nationals privileges and immunities in a foreign country that are by the laws of that country denied to its own citizens. On the face of it the proposition seems so unprecedented and unreasonable as to be untenable, but such novel and anomalous things are being done nowadays in the realms of both public and domestic law that, with the present chaotic state of Mexican affairs and the loss of genuine American sentiment in high places in our own land, there can be no safe reliance upon either precedent or principle in matters of this nature. Now, more than ever before, and especially in the domain of religion and education, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

All the legislation of Mexico, constitutional and statutory, and particularly that peculiar kind of legislation that emanates from arbitrary executive decree, for the last seventy-five years has been directed towards destroying in the bosom of the people Catholic Faith, and uprooting from the social system the ideas and institutions so firmly planted there by the teachings and practice of the Church. Nominally applying to all religions alike, these laws practically affect only the rights and liberties of Catholicism, since that is in fact the religion of the vast majority of the population. With that code of despotic proscription maintained in force, and all the anti-Catholic influences and agencies of the United States given full and free sway to work their will and wreak their malice upon the native religion; with Protestant missions, Socialist seminaries and "the little red schoolhouse" to pervert the minds and poison the souls and deaden the faith of the poor *peons* and *palados*—and all under the supervision and protection of American diplomacy, directed by such bigoted zealots as have figured only too prominently in the muddle of Mexican matters that has characterized the past seven years of American administration—the result to the cause of spiritual freedom and social well-being in that republic can be easily and accurately foreseen.

Secret and sinister motives have for a long time governed much of the mysterious transactions between our Government and the unsettled government of Mexico, and many men, innocent and ignorant of the underlying purposes of the active agents of these transactions, have been led to indorse and promote schemes from which honest Americans would instinctively shrink. The story of intrigue, secret machination, covert interference with Mexican affairs, and unscrupulous furtherance of revo-

lutionary movements against the Church and her institutions, would make a dramatic and a damning indictment of officials and their satellites in this country who have used and abused their opportunities to wage a malicious and unrelenting war upon Catholicism among our Southern neighbors. It would begin with our first Minister, the truculent Poinsett, who was recalled for his pernicious activity in the political plans of Mexican Freemasonry, and it would include the sanctimonious but stupid Lind, whose crass ignorance is only excelled by his malignant spite toward everything Catholic. Is it possible that another and a more appalling chapter of this century-old campaign against the Mexican Church is to be written in the development of the scheme of "Americanization" that is outlined in the Falls report? And will the Catholics of this country supinely suffer this scheme to become an actuality, while they spend money and enthusiasm on movements which in no way affect the interests of the Church? It is a pressing and a perilous problem, based upon no visionary dread of impossible specters, but embodied in a plain and practicable proposition reported to the American Senate by one of its leading committees.

A Sunday Afternoon at St. Denys

JAMES LOUIS SMALL

A JOLTING ride in a motor lorry through one of Paris's most uninteresting quarters brought us at length to the abbey church of St. Denys. A midsummer sun beat pitilessly upon the cobbled pavement. Pedestrians, crawling along at snail's pace, mopped their brows wearily. Even the jocularity of the news vendors in the kiosks on the boulevard had suffered temporary eclipse. Our consent to the trip had been won partly because of an absence of other Sunday-afternoon attractions, partly because of a reluctance to hurt the feelings of the Chapter at St. Denys, who had extended a special invitation to Knights of Columbus secretaries and their friends to be present at this service in honor of Jeanne d'Arc.

To enter the ancient church, its cool half-shadow shot with tints of amber and purple and crimson, was like stepping from the Sahara into the leafy glades of Fontainebleau or Versailles. The nave was a forest of banners, beneath which perplexed curés, important Suisses in gorgeous livery, and white-veiled little girls moved restlessly about in preparation for the coming pageant.

Few shrines are richer in associations than is St. Denys. Even the grimy district in which it stands, a fair gem in a tarnished setting, has had its part in the making of history. It was only a little over a century ago that the square before the church rang to the shouts of the revolutionist rabble, who streamed into the sacred precincts, broke open the tombs, crowded closely together in the crypt, and scattered the ashes of the royal and sainted dead to the winds, or consigned them, with scant respect, to a common burial pit.

Thus it is not to the monuments in St. Denys that one must look for inspiration. Though restored under the painstaking direction of Viollet-le-Duc, these are at best but the husks of a past glory. One must reconstruct for oneself. Here, in the middle days of the twelfth century, the sturdy Abbot Suger issued terse orders to the workmen engaged in rebuilding the stately nave. Here later, Abelard, fallen Lucifer-like, prayed and meditated. At this great portal Henry the Fourth made abjuration of heresy and profession of faith, after passing through streets richly carpeted and flower-decked in celebration of the event. "After this," says the old chronicler, "he was admitted into the Church amid the acclamations of the people." Yonder, before a statue of Our Blessed Lady, the Maid of Orleans, defeated in her plans, reviled by enemies without and thwarted by false friends within the camp, hung up her white armor sadly, waiting for a better day. Again and again the Oriflamme, holy banner of scarlet and gold, passed across this threshold, high above the heads of France's fighting men, with the cry rising from a thousand throats, "*Montjoie St. Denys!*" the rally call of the knights.

I was roused from reverie by the deep-toned pealing of the organ. All about me in the choir were comrades in khaki and back of them, as far as eye could reach, surged a sea of faces, tense, expectant. Suddenly, from behind the altar, rose a chorus of praise. It filled every nook and cranny of the church; it rolled like a mighty river through aisle and ambulatory and flung itself back and forth among the vaulted arches overhead.

Down the nave came a long procession: scores of little girls in white, with fragrant blossoms in their hands; older boys and girls of the district; a bevy of young women wearing the peasant dress of Jeanne's period; then the Maid herself; impersonated by a clear-eyed French girl whose gaze seemed to be fixed on things unseen rather than upon the throngs to right hand and left. After her came the clergy in cloth of gold copes, a visiting Patriarch from the East blessing us with his cross as he passed; the precious relics of St. Denys, carried in a crystal case upon the shoulders of four of our own Knights; last of all, three-score uniformed Americans, secretaries, doughboys, officers, with the tri-color and the Stars and Stripes going before.

Round and round the abbey church the procession moved, while bursts of music rolled heavenward and crowds pressed close upon it as it went. At the close the kindly Abbé spoke to us in English, the Eastern Patriarch in French. Then we went forward to kiss the relics of Paris's Bishop-Saint presented to us for veneration.

The sun was setting as I stepped out upon the square and a faint breeze stirred from the west. In the waning light of late afternoon the surroundings seemed less sordid, the lines of the adjacent buildings softer. It was good for us to have been here.

COMMUNICATIONS

Letters as a rule should not exceed six-hundred words

Prohibition and Mass Wine

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Since the appearance of my articles on Prohibition in your excellent weekly, I was surprised to see that some Catholic papers have undertaken the herculean task of clearing the Prohibition movement of the charge of bigotry in the passing of "Bone-Dry" laws in Arizona and Oklahoma. I am very much afraid that these writers have miscalculated the greatness of the work that lies before them. There are some things that cannot be explained away and the bigotry in the Prohibition legislation in the two States named is one of these. But let us get down to particulars.

First as to Arizona. It is claimed that the "lie" about prohibiting sacramental wine in this State was started by a Catholic lawyer in the employ of the liquor interests. There was no foundation for the "lie," it is asserted. Against this attempted refutation, I wish to say that any writer, who dares to say that the story of bigotry in the Arizona "dry" legislation is a falsehood, must of necessity make the venerable Bishop Granjon of Arizona a party to that "lie." For in a letter to me, dated October 10, 1916, the Bishop says that "the worst feature of the Arizona Prohibition law was its disregard of the sacred right of the Church to use fermented wine for the celebration of the Mass." Again, he says, "I took care to warn the promoters of Prohibition of the standing of the Church in the matter." And what did these holy, innocent-of-all-bigotry, anti-drink advocates reply to the Bishop? Read the good Bishop's own words: "They simply waved aside our representations by alleging that the priests could use grape juice." They insulted the Bishop by telling him to do the very thing that he had no right to do of his own accord, celebrate the Mass without fermented wine. Where did this insult have its origin? Bishop Granjon in his frank, honest way tells us this too: "This attitude (that we could use grape juice) was unfortunately encouraged by imprudent and ill-advised utterances from lecturing priests (one of them "did" Arizona recently) who go about the country advocating Prohibition of the most uncompromising type and going so far as to say that it is up to the Church to substitute grape juice for fermented wine for the Mass." So the good Bishop could thank those meddling priests for that insult since they told the anti-drink advocates a thing that is indefensible on theological grounds, the promiscuous use of grape juice in the Mass. And how charitable the good Bishop is in the choice of his words. "Imprudent and ill-advised" indeed: it seems to me that some stronger terms should be used when we consider the worry and trouble caused the good Bishop by these interested priests, for Bishop Granjon did have to work hard to have set aside this law that ignored "the sacred right of the Church." I said "interested priests" because it is only too true that these priests were paid by the Anti-Saloon League for making the "imprudent and ill-advised utterances" that caused the insult and worry to the Bishop.

Now if the story of bigotry in the Arizona legislation was a "lie," why should Bishop Granjon have insisted so strongly on the "sacred right of the Church" or why should he "take care to warn" the dry leaders or why should he have laid himself open to such an insulting reply? None of these things would have been necessary if there was no bigotry in the law. In the same letter to me, the Bishop frankly admits that his priests were compelled to violate the law in order to get sacramental wine. Why was this necessary if there was no bigotry in that Arizona "dry" law? But to cap the climax, the funny part about the whole affair is that Bishop Granjon is a good Prohibitionist. He admits it, although I do not see how he can be one now after all the trouble that he has gone through. How-

ever, he is a better Catholic and of course could not stand idly by and see "the sacred right" of the Church ignored. It is, therefore, a question of veracity between Bishop Granjon and those writers who say that there was no bigotry in that law in Arizona. And I prefer to follow the Bishop, because he was on the ground, he knew what he was talking about, he had no reason for saying these things against the anti-drink advocates unless they were true (because at heart he was one of them) and lastly he had to suffer under this bigoted law. But the writers who defend the opposite side only know what they have been told by the Anti-Saloon League which is using them in the attempt to crawl out of one of the most damnable pieces of bigotry ever attempted under a free government. Yes, I am very much afraid that their case falls miserably to the ground on the testimony of Bishop Granjon, a very good Prohibitionist under ordinary circumstances. That letter of Bishop Granjon is certainly a "corker" for my side. It was indeed too bad that I had to use one of their own people against them, but it was their own fault.

If it was extremely foolish for these men to attempt to explain away the bigotry in Arizona, it was doubly ridiculous in the case of Oklahoma. It is very much like a man trying to convince himself that he has not committed mortal sin when he knows perfectly well that the good Lord knows that he has done so. The case for bigotry in the Prohibition legislation in Oklahoma is so strong that even such a clever man as Wayne B. Wheeler was forced by me to admit before the Maryland Legislature that the Anti-Saloon League had passed the legislation barring sacramental wine, but was forced to do so "because a certain priest (Dr. DeHasque, the Chancellor of the diocese) had abused the privilege of distributing the wine." If there is any falsehood in this case, that alleged reason given by Wheeler for such bigoted legislation must be stamped as such. No, if Wheeler was unable to explain away the Oklahoma case in any better way, I am afraid that all refutation is futile. For Wheeler has been in the business for twenty-three years. But here I wish to introduce first-hand witnesses: Bishop Meerschaert of Oklahoma and his Chancellor, Dr. DeHasque. Dr. DeHasque in a letter to me, dated Nov. 27, 1917, says that "the Rt. Reverend Bishop does not hesitate to declare that indeed a great deal of bigotry is mixed with the activities of the Prohibitionist leaders in Oklahoma." Could any better proof for bigotry be desired than that? It was H. T. Laughbaum, the superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, who forced this bigoted legislation through the Legislature which had one Catholic member. It is not true that the Anti-Saloon League attorneys helped the Catholic Church to overturn this bigoted law. Their lawyers were lined up with the attorney-general of the State and the railroad's counsel in the attempt to uphold the law. As an interesting note, I might digress here to say that after Dr. DeHasque had finished beating the bigoted Prohibitionists he entered the army as a chaplain and we met as chaplains later on at Camp Travis, Texas. He told me that it cost Bishop Meerschaert about \$2,000 in money and lots of worry to get rid of this piece of bigotry. And I am sure that the Bishop could have used that money for other purposes in his big missionary diocese. So he did not put it into this case for fun. The Bishop too admitted that for one whole year his priests were criminals until the Church won the case. And this was not bigotry? The attempt to explain away all these things is almost too funny to be real. Facts are facts and they are all against these men. It is again a question of veracity between them and Bishop Meerschaert. The good Bishop is a witness right on the scene, he had to suffer under this bigotry that he has the courage to name as such, and he had to spend good money to beat such bigotry. The other men are merely throwing out assertions without any proofs in the attempt to get their anti-drink friends out of a bad mess. But there is no use in butting against a stone wall. For in the

Oklahoma case, any sensible man would prefer to follow the Bishop. It would require something more than a genius to explain away Arizona and Oklahoma, because no one can do the impossible. Here's a chance for the Priests' Prohibition League to answer. Do it, if you can.

Baltimore, Md.

BERNARD J. McNAMARA.

Practical Lay Apostolate

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I read with interest the letter entitled "Practical Lay Apostolate" in the issue of AMERICA for May 22. I fully agree with the writer regarding the possibility of our Catholic people playing an important part in promoting the welfare of the Church, yet it seems to me that much has been left undone because they are seldom offered a definite field for the exercise of their apostolic zeal. There has been too much vague theorizing on the subject of the lay apostolate and not enough practical suggestion. Permit me to bring to your attention an organization in the Pittsburg diocese known as the "Missionary Confraternity of Christian Doctrine," which to my mind offers a wonderful field for the activity of the lay apostolate. This confraternity is an organization of Catholic men and women banded together for the purpose of conducting catechism classes in mining towns, country places, city districts, in charitable or reformatory institutions, or in any locality where Catholic children are found to be in need of religious instruction. It has for its purpose to promote in a general way home missionary activity in the diocese, to minister to the spiritual needs of Catholics in remote and neglected districts, and, if possible, to lead others into the true fold. An additional aim is to assist in spreading Catholic literature and in fostering Catholic practices, and to further in every possible way the cause of Catholicism in the diocese.

Has this organization accomplished anything? Let us judge by the fruits. The following is a brief summary of its activity for the year 1919: 16 branches scattered in all parts of the diocese; 166 catechism classes; 500 lay catechists; 14,010 children enrolled; 9,000 average attendance; 1,592 First Confessions; 1,695 First Communions; 100 children and adults baptized; 1,000 Catholic children removed from Protestant Sunday schools; 62 fallen-away Catholics brought back to the Faith; 30,336 pieces of Catholic literature and 22,137 religious articles distributed. Since the organization of the confraternity the formation of ten parishes has been due directly to the activity of these lay catechists developing neglected districts.

This report represents work done among Catholic children, the vast majority of foreign parentage who could not be reached in any other way. Moreover, it is work that has been accomplished entirely by the lay apostolate. The Pittsburg diocese is in the heart of the bituminous coal region, and as a consequence it is dotted far and wide with hundreds of mining towns. The people of these places are practically all of foreign birth and predominantly Catholic. The 500 catechists of the confraternity, recruited from the large parishes of the cities, go out into these districts Sunday after Sunday, some traveling as much as forty and fifty miles. Their efforts are not confined to the children alone, but they do all in their power to bring the older people to the practice of their religion. It is the customary thing for the catechist to know the religious status of every man, woman and child in the mission. Much work is also done among the foreign children in the poorer districts of the city, especially among those who do not attend parochial schools. In fact the largest classes are found in city missions.

That such an organization is necessary for the preservation of the Faith of many of our Catholic children can be seen from the fact that this organization removed 1,000 Catholic children from non-Catholic Sunday schools in one year. During the

recent campaign of the Inter-Church World Movement, one Protestant sect set themselves to raise \$300,000 for work among the foreign-born in one county of the diocese alone; but with an organization like the confraternity safeguarding the Faith of our foreign Catholics, they can accomplish little or nothing. In fact, dozens of non-Catholic Sunday schools in the mining districts, which harbored many of our Catholic children, have been broken up as a result of the activity of these lay catechists.

This organization has before it an extensive field. Not only does it impart religious instruction to all neglected children, but it also performs much social and charitable work in the missions. Its opportunities for carrying on an Americanization program cannot be surpassed. Moreover, this work is not merely an experiment. It has been in existence now for over ten years, and its power for good has always been on the increase.

Why could not a similar confraternity be established in every diocese of the country. True, there is a peculiar need for it in the Pittsburgh diocese, yet there is scarcely a diocese in the country where it is not necessary in some degree. The establishment of some such an organization would not only afford our Catholic people an admirable opportunity of exercising their apostolic zeal, but it would also accomplish wonders for the preservation and the spread of Catholicism in the United States.

Pittsburgh.

E. H.

The Ante-Nuptial Agreement and the Supreme Court.

To the Editor of AMERICA:

A highly important decision was handed down by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on March 1, 1920, that renders practically nugatory the ante-nuptial agreement between a Catholic and a non-Catholic. Many love-sick young men and women think that so long as this ante-nuptial agreement is executed, the future spiritual state of their children is secure. That all is not well for them is indicated by an amazing decision of Mr. Justice Frazer, in the case of the Butcher children. Henry C. Butcher, a Protestant, and Constance Devereux, a Catholic, were married October 10, 1905, by a Catholic priest. Butcher signed the usual pre-nuptial agreement that the children born of the union should be educated in the Roman Catholic Faith. The wife died in 1917, and the husband died in 1918. There were three children. Shortly before his death, in a letter to his children, the father expressed the hope that they would grow up to follow the religion of their mother, in accordance with her wishes. In spite of this the Orphans Court appointed the paternal grandfather, a Protestant as their guardian. Objection was made to this by the Catholic relatives, and the court was petitioned, asking for the appointment of the maternal uncle, a Catholic. This the lower court denied, and the matter was carried to the Supreme Court.

The laws of Pennsylvania are quite clear on the subject. They provide that "persons of the same religious persuasion as the parents of the minors shall in all cases be preferred by the Court in their appointment as guardians of the persons of such minors." Notwithstanding this clean-cut statement of the law, and in spite of the solemn contract entered into by the mother and father before the marriage, and just as solemnly ratified by the father before his death, Mr. Justice Frazer, of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania, in a decision from which there is no appeal, reaffirmed the decision of the lower Court, and declined to appoint a Catholic guardian for these three Catholic children.

He did this, in spite of one interesting feature of the testimony brought out in the argument before the Court. The Protestant guardian frankly admitted that he would by no means agree to compel the children constantly to attend Catholic services, even though that is the clear meaning of the ante-nuptial agreement,

and of the last dying wish of the father of the children; nor would this Protestant guardian personally take his Catholic wards to a Catholic church, as he did not believe in too intensive religious training. Yet this is the person the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania thinks a fit guardian for Catholic children.

Any one who thinks bigotry is dead, in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, should ponder this decision, and not set too much store by the binding force of the ante-nuptial agreement, which the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has practically declared not worth the paper on which it is written.

Pittsburgh.

THOMAS F. COAKLEY.

Suppression of News

To the Editor of AMERICA:

For the first time in many years a convention of the American Medical Association has not received the publicity usually accorded to the proceedings of this body. It should be important, however, for the public to know that at the session just held at New Orleans this body refused to pass a resolution condemning the use of alcohol in the treatment of influenza. Nevertheless this fact has been recorded only in the local journals reporting these proceedings, although the previous action of the American Medical Association a few years ago in pronouncing alcohol to be of no medicinal value whatever and only of use in the arts was widely proclaimed throughout the country, if not throughout the world. Likewise the unanimous condemnation of compulsory health insurance was a fact of the greatest importance to the whole medical profession, which has hitherto opposed this measure, although it was fathered and nurtured by the most powerful influences in the American Medical Association. This news should be welcome to the medical profession of England, already under a politically imposed form of State medical service, and to the English people now threatened with "Bone-Dry" Prohibition.

The fact that the legislature of New York had just rejected the plan for the compulsory hospitalization or institutionalization of drug addicts to the exclusion of every other form of treatment, though fully presented to the American Medical Association had no evident weight with this body. By condemning the ambulatory treatment of drug addiction it thereby approved this plan in its entirety which was presented to it by the same sponsors whose recommendations and limitations the New York legislature refused to apply to the fifteen thousand physicians of this State. How this action will be received when known by the 150,000 physicians of the country remains to be seen.

In effect this recommendation implies the inability of the medical profession, or of the police power of the States, to deal with the problem of drug addiction without invoking the aid of the national Government. American physicians and surgeons have heretofore contributed their full share to the general fund of medical achievement to the benefit of mankind and to the credit of their profession. Must it now be admitted that in the treatment of drug addiction the medical profession of this country is so incompetent or so untrustworthy that the control and supervision of the importation, manufacture, distribution and prescribing of opium and its derivatives must be the function solely of the United States Government as recommended in the findings of the Narcotic Committee of the American Medical Association? This committee has only studied this subject for one year. It was appointed at the suggestion and on the plans laid down by Dr. Alexander Lambert, of New York, then just elected President of the American Medical Association. With the exception of the author of this plan none of those recommending it has had any previous knowledge whatever of the disease of drug addiction or any experience in its treatment, either institutional or otherwise.

New York.

JOHN P. DAVIN, M. D.

A M E R I C A

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1920

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Can Public Office be Bought?

AS these lines are written, an influential metropolitan newspaper announces that at least two candidates seeking the presidential nomination have been disqualified. This newspaper conclusion is probably true. Nothing can be alleged against the personal character of the two candidates in question. Each is a man of unusual ability, the one a soldier, the other the Governor of a great State. But it is claimed that huge sums of money have been expended in behalf of each, although, of course, neither is accused of using money to buy "influence," or to further practices akin to bribery.

If these facts operate to disqualify candidates for public office, there is reason to believe that the American spirit of democracy is stronger than is sometimes thought. As election practices have shaped themselves during the last forty years, the expenditure of *some* money by every candidate is a necessity. He must present his claims to the public in print and on speaking tours; he must rent rooms, or perhaps suites of rooms, to serve as his political headquarters; he must use the mail, the telegraph and the telephone; and these methods mean postage, rent, printers' bills, railway fares, and wire fees. The precise amount he may legitimately use is fixed by law in many States and cities, and by Federal statute. A candidate for the lower House is restricted to \$5,000, and for the Senate to \$10,000, by the Federal act of 1911. Both State and Federal Governments admit the need of expenditures, and their action limiting the use of money has, on the whole, promoted a higher sense of morality in practical politics.

Recent serious violations of the Federal law, following one of which a Senator of the United States was sentenced to prison, have revived the old question of the advisability of further legislation. It is now proposed that the State, or the Federal Government, provide each candidate with a certain sum of money, and forbid all further expenditures. This plan would have the advantage of opening the field to men of moderate means, and in that respect is commendable. On the other hand, it

would impose new and not inconsiderable taxation, and, worse, would tend to transfer too much power over the primaries from the people to the Government. Possibly a better enforcement of the election laws as they now stand, particularly in their provisions requiring that an accurate account of all moneys used be made, would allay the growing suspicion that public office usually goes to the highest bidder. Publicity is a great corrective of political evils. One of the many handicaps carried by the defeated candidate in the New York mayoralty elections of a few years ago, was that a "slush fund" of more than \$2,000,000 had been gathered in his behalf. As long as the people are quick to rebuke the excessive use of money in elections, there seems to be no good reason why the elections, primary and final, may not be left in their hands.

The Supreme Court and the Eighteenth Amendment

IN affirming the Eighteenth Amendment the Supreme Court of the United States has written an admirable opinion. "Tell me what you think, but not your reasons." Brief, concise, inclusive, the decree leaves nothing in the twilight land of doubt. Better, the decision reads to the people of the United States a needed homily. That lesson may teach them both the extent of their power and the discretion with which that great power should be used. The decree simply affirms the truth that the people may do what they wish. But they cannot escape the necessary consequences of their act. The States must lie in the bed they have made.

It is equally plain that the decree legalizes a Federal assumption of the police powers of the States, certainly not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution and the original ratifying States, and hitherto unknown in American polity. Yet, technically, this assumption can no longer be called an "invasion." It is rather a "destruction," by an action which has been affirmed by the Supreme Court, of certain powers hitherto possessed by the States. As the constitutional source of power, the people may set upon the rights of the States and of the Federal Government whatever limits they deem proper. If they desire to divest the States of all political rights, reducing them to the level of mere counties or townships, such action is within their power. If they wish a Senate and a House elected not by the people of the respective States but by vote of all the people of the United States, or if they secure by proper amendment the appointment of all State Governors by the Federal authority, they may rightfully abolish the present constitutional provisions. It is true that these changes destroy the dual form of government which has existed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But the people who made the Constitution may unmake it if they wish.

In the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, they have gone a long way along the road to that unmaking. To take that path, and to proceed even further, is clearly within their right. It is still the right of every American

citizen to employ every legitimate means for the repeal of the Amendment, and to induce others to join him in united effort for this repeal. But violation of any law affirmed by the courts may not be counted a "legitimate" means. For the present the Eighteenth Amendment is, beyond dispute and cavil, part of the supreme law of the land. To undo it is within the power of the people: to disobey it is the right of no man, save where it may be unjustly invoked to hamper or to destroy the right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of conscience.

The Retreat Movement

BEGINNING with the latter part of this month and continuing through the summer and into September, thousands of Catholic men and women in this country will be making retreats. Withdrawing as far as possible from the busy world and their ordinary occupations, they will devote three or four days, under competent guidance, to considering prayerfully the basic truths of faith and to studying the life of Our Divine Lord. The object of these spiritual exercises is to help the retreatants to cleanse their souls from sin, put order into their lives and be staunch, consistent Catholics. So important does the Holy Father consider the success of these retreats and so eager is he to have their number increase that his Holiness has asked the members of the League of the Sacred Heart throughout the world to pray fervently during the month of July that the retreat movement may so thrive and spread among the laity that year by year more and more Catholic men and women in every walk of life will make an annual retreat, thus bringing about the only kind of "social reconstruction"—to use an overworked term—that is thorough and effective.

For the regeneration of society that is now so imperative can be brought about only by the reform of the individuals who compose society. This improvement, moreover, in the character of the men and women who make up the American people, if it is to be radical and lasting, must begin from the heart and be based on Christian principles. Civic laws, however wise and well-enforced, can regulate and control, after all, only external conduct. To effect a real change for the better in a person's character, his heart must be cleansed and renewed. This the retreat movement aims to do. If large classes of our Catholic population can be assembled annually in suitable houses of retreat to hear expounded the principles according to which a child of God and a follower of Christ must live, and to hear explained the Church's remedy for the moral, social and economic evils of our time, much can be done to safeguard all that is best in our American institutions. The better Catholics we are, the stauncher patriots we shall be. The retreat movement, however, has as yet made nothing like the progress in our land that it should. More men and more women from every social class, and particularly from the ranks of the toiling poor who are so much exposed nowadays to the danger of being infected with the virus of anti-Christian Socialism,

should be induced and enabled to make an annual retreat. If all our readers, however, besides praying for the spread of the movement, as the Holy Father desires, will retire for a few days this summer to one of the numerous houses of retreat that dot the country and will make there a serious retreat themselves, they will be using the most practical means there are for promoting the spread of the retreat movement.

The Days of Old

IT is easy to be a praiser of the past for we were not there to see the shortcomings of those days. Yet it does seem that there was a period in the history of this country when men had vision, and following an unbeaten trail blazed their way through the forests of difficulty to found empires. Through faith in God and faith in themselves these pioneers achieved mastery. How far some of their descendants have fallen from that standard of courage and strength, is splendidly illustrated in the lines of a well-known newspaper poet, "Walt Mason," describing a trip across the great American desert. The trip was not made on foot, but in a luxurious Pullman which "rolled without a jolt or jar." But

The train was full of dames and men who grumbled all the time; they'd never come out there again—the desert was a crime. It hurt their eyes to view the sand and watch the hills of stone; and everything their anger fanned, and they put up a groan.

And I recalled the pioneers who blazed the path that way, and sternly whacked their mules and steers through burning sand all day. They only halted in their stride across that waste accursed, to plant some fellow who had died of heartbreak or of thirst. I wished those mighty men of old could board that gorgeous train, and there some moving discourse hold of tragedy or pain; for that might shame the stall-fed men, and fat, enamelled dames, who sighed and swore and sighed again, and called the desert names.—(New York Globe.)

What "Walt Mason" has here strikingly pictured has been felt by many a student of American history. The men who laid the foundations of this country thought that they had built well, and they had. But what they built was to be carried on and preserved by men and women not unlike themselves: strong, virtuous, self-reliant, able to care for their own affairs, and to plan great enterprises without either encouragement or financial help from the machine called "government." It is true that the Great War stimulated in our people qualities which were surely dormant and by some thought dead. But with the end of the war are these qualities of enterprise, strength and sacrifice to be laid aside? "Passing the buck," as someone has said, is the favorite American political game, and "passing the buck" simply means that we refuse to shoulder some burden that is rightly ours. Of course, that spirit is utterly fatal to new enterprise, which always requires the assumption of a burden that belongs to no one in particular. Today we "pass the buck" to the Federal Government, and look to find in Congress an omnipotence not attributed even by legal fiction to the English Parliament. Congress must not

only care for the education of our children but even supply them with nurses and dentists; for homes, like the respective States, are no longer equal to their functions. If the men who in the early days flocked from Virginia, the Carolinas and New England, had waited for Gov-

ernment aid, or had called upon Washington to buy them farms and agricultural machinery, the United States would not today find in the great West the granary of the world, and homes that sheltered a thousand unknown Hampdens, and the noblest of them all, Abraham Lincoln.

Literature

"SUB SPECIE ETERNITATIS"

"THE twin passions of seventeenth-century poetry," as Mr. H. J. Massingham well observes in the introduction to his recently published "Treasury of Seventeenth Century English Verse" (Macmillan), are "its fascinated dwelling upon Death, and that strange gladness which makes its poets dance in the sepulcher to meet a life more intense than the most radiant poetry." A perusal of the anthology's 400 lyrics shows how true that is. For there is a striking preponderance in the volume of poems that treat of dusty death, of graves, of worms and epitaphs, and in many a skilfully wrought verse there echoes the sweet sad music of mortality. These poets seldom write gloomily or despairingly, however, on their favorite theme. With rare exceptions their lines are full of Christian hope and resignation, Our Saviour's victory over death, with all its consoling consequences, being either assumed or expressed. For the English poets who produced their best and most characteristic work between the years 1616 when Shakespeare died, and 1660, the date of the Restoration, with its reign of license, were believing Christians, either Anglicans, Puritans, or Catholics, who held tenaciously the basic truths regarding the relative value of time and eternity, the body and the soul, the spiritual and the material: truths which St. Augustine of Canterbury had been sent from Rome by Pope St. Gregory to teach their ancestors a thousand years before.

Sir John Beaumont, for example, prays that the "poor soul" of his little son, who died with "the name of Jesus in his mouth," may

"Remain my pledge in heaven as sent to show
How to this port at every step I go."

And Maria Wentworth, a fair English maiden, who died some 300 years ago, was fortunate in having a poet like Thomas Carew to sing of her fragrant virtues. Her "Epitaph" runs thus:

And here the precious dust is laid;
Whose finely tempered clay was made,
So fine that it the guest betrayed.

Else the soul grew so fast within,
It brake the outward shell of sin,
And so was hatched a Cherubim.

In height it soared to God above,
In depth, it did to knowledge move,
And spread its breadth in general love.

Before a pious duty shined
To parents, courtesy behind,
On either side an equal mind.

Good to the poor, to kindred dear,
To servants kind, to friendship clear,
To nothing but herself severe.

The praises of another "virtuous young gentlewoman that died suddenly" are sounded by William Cartwright, who tells us that:

Others are dragged away, or must be driven;
She only saw her time and stept to Heaven;
Where Seraphim view all her glories o'er,
As one returned that had been there before.

Abraham Cowley's beautiful "Ode on the Death of Mr. Crashaw," can be found in Mr. Massingham's "Treasury" along with the gifted Canon of Loretto's best poems, including "An

Epitaph upon Husband and Wife Who Died and were Buried Together," which ends:

Let them sleep; let them sleep on.
Till the stormy night be gone,
And the eternal morrow dawn;
Then the curtains will be drawn,
And they wake into a light
Whose day shall never die in night.

"A short, dark passage to eternal light" is what Sir William Davenant calls the grave, and John Donne, at the close of a fine sonnet on "Death" expresses a similar thought, saying:

And poppy or charms can make us sleep as well
And better than thy stroke. Why swell'st thou then?
One short sleep past, we wake eternally
And death shall be no more; Death thou shalt die.

Edmund Ellis then reminds a mother, who was reft of her first two children, that their Saviour has only taken them in His arms, and that they are now olive branches transplanted in Paradise. "So they become by their decease, A garland to the Prince of Peace."

Since perfection is so high
Beyond life's reach, he that would try
True happiness indeed must die.

is Owen Feltham's counsel, and Robert Fletcher's "Epitaph on His Deceased Friend" is as full of faith as of poetry. It must be quoted:

Here lies the ruined cabinet
Of a rich soul more highly set:
The dross and refuge of a mind
Too glorious to be here confined.
Earth for a while bespoke his stay,
Only to bait and so away;
So that what here he doted on
Was merely accommodation.
Not that his active soul could be
At home but in eternity,
Yet while he blessed us with the rays
Of his short-continued days.
Each minute had its weight of worth,
Each pregnant hour some star brought forth.
So while he traveled here beneath,
He lived when others only breathe,
For not a sand of time slipped by
Without its action sweet or high.
So good, so peaceable, so blessed—
Angels alone can speak the rest.

"Noblest bodies are but gilded clay" is a favorite thought of the seventeenth-century poets to which they recur again and again, and the brief, frail beauty of flowers frequently reminds them, as Herrick sings, that

"We have short time to stay as you
We have as short a spring,"

a comparison which the godly George Herbert also develops characteristically in a melodious poem beginning, "I made a posy while the day ran by." Using a similar metaphor an anonymous poet composed these lines "Upon a Gardener":

Could he forget his death? That every hour
Was embled to it by the fading flower:
Should he not mind his end? Yes, needs he must,
That still was conversant 'mongst beds of dust.

"Brave flowers," the Rt. Rev. Henry King calls them, wishing that he could his "bed of earth but view And smile, and look as cheerfully as you." In the same poem he humbly asks the

flowers to teach him how to make his life, like theirs, "sweeten and perfume" his death. The Bishop of Chichester's renowned "Exequy on His Wife" is one of the best elegiac poems in Mr. Massingham's anthology. It contains such lines as:

The beating of thy pulse (when thou art well),
Is just the tolling of thy passing bell. . . .
But, hark! My pulse, like a soft drum,
Beats my approach, tells thee I come.

and should be read along with Milton's "Lycidas," for which the compiler, because it is so well known, can find no room. Unfortunately, the reader will seek in vain for many another favorite seventeenth-century poem in this imperfect "Treasury," for the anthologist far too often omits such beautiful lyrics as "Go lovely rose," "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright," "They are all gone into the world of light," etc. just to give space to verses that are little better than doggerel.

"'Tis true," sings Andrew Marvel, at the tomb of a pious maiden,

That her soul was on Heaven so bent
No minute but it came and went;
That ready her last debt to pay,
She summed her life up every day;
Modest as morn; as mid-day bright;
Gentle as evening; cool as night.

And Lady Katherine Pastor was even more fortunate in her unknown eulogist, who wrote:

Can man be silent and not praises find?
For her who lived the praise of womankind?
Whose outward frame was lent the world to guess
What shapes our souls shall wear in happiness,
Whose virtue did all ill so oversway,
That her whole life was a Communion day.

Though the gown he wears, the knife he uses, and "eke that old and ancient chair" he sits in, all remind Simon Wastell he "must die, And yet my life amend not I." Robert Wilde has condensed into his "Epitaph for a Godly Man's Tomb" some good poetry in the lines:

Here lies a piece of Christ; a star in dust;
A vein of gold; a china dish that must
Be used in heaven, when God shall feast the just.

An anonymous poet writes on "A Child's Death," whose stay here was so short that "No dust of earth unto his sandals clave." Indeed, "He seemed a cherub who had lost his way and wandered thither." "She'll rise a star that fell a flower" was prettily said of Eleanor Freeman, who died when only twenty-one, and of a little maid of two brief summers we read:

Here is laid a July flower,
With surviving tears bedewed,
Not despairing of that hour
When her spring shall be renewed;
Ere she had her summer seen
She was gathered fresh and green.

On reaching the pages containing selections from the poems of Henry Vaughan the "Silurist," the reader will find many a beautiful passage on death and immortality expressed as only this prince of mystical poets can write. In "The Dawning," for instance, he prays that when the Bridegroom cometh, he "may not like puddle lie in a corrupt security," but by smoothly flowing keep "untainted." He continues:

So let me all my busy age
In Thy free services engage;
And though (while here) of force I must
Have commerce sometimes with poor dust,
And in my flesh, though vile and low,
As this doth in her channel flow,
Yet all my course, my aim, my love
And chief acquaintance be above;
So when that day and hour shall come,
In which Thyself will be the sun,
Thou'lt find me dressed and on my way,
Watching the break of Thy great day.

But Crashaw, being a Catholic poet, often can soar higher even than Vaughan. His "Hymn to the Name and Honor of the Admirable Saint Teresa" lifts the reader to the very gates of heaven and shows him the priceless guerdon that the Just Judge will give the valiant Christian warrior who keeps the faith and fights to the very end the good fight:

Angels, thy old friends, there shall greet thee,
Glad at their own home there to meet thee,
All thy good work that went before,
And waited for thee at the door,
Shall own thee there; and all in one
Weave a constellation
Of crowns, with which the King, thy Spouse,
Shall build up thy triumphant brows.
All thy old woes shall now smile on thee,
And thy pains sit bright upon thee:
All thy sorrows here shall shine,
And thy sufferings be divine.
Tears shall take comfort and turn gems,
And wrongs repent to diadems.
Even thy deaths shall live, and new
Dress the soul which late they slew.

WALTER DWIGHT, S. J.

REVIEWS

A History of the Venerable English College, Rome. An Account of Its Origin and Work from the Earliest Times Down to the Present Day. By CARDINAL GASQUET. With Illustrations. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.00.

It is a pity that the histories of colleges, universities, and educational institutions are too often rather tame and lifeless chronicles. For they deal after all with that which is of paramount importance in the life of a nation, the growth of the mind and the character of its people. The outward life cannot compare in importance, and even in dramatic possibilities, with that of the soul. No reproach of dullness however can be brought against the present work of the distinguished Benedictine Cardinal. Here he has pictured the century-old story of one of the most celebrated institutions of the Eternal City, that English College, which through the glory and the holiness of so many of its sons who died for the Faith, is lovingly called by its alumni and friends, the "Venerable." With the proverbial learning of the Benedictine, the critical instinct of the trained historian, and with not a little of the enthusiasm of the man speaking in the truest meaning of the words *pro domo sua*, Cardinal Gasquet has given us a vivid picture of this nurse of saints and scholars. Englishmen will of course be deeply interested in the history and the fortunes of the venerable institution. But its history and glories belong to the Catholic world. During the stormy days of the persecution in England, it was a training-school for martyrdom. Its sons well deserved the glorious salutation of St. Philip Neri's "*Salvete, Flores Martyrum*," "Buds and Blooms of Martyrs, Hail." Few will be able to read in the chapter of the cardinal-historian, entitled "*Confessores Lucidique*," the muster of the noble sons of the College who suffered and died in England, without a prayer that the blood and the sufferings of these heroes may not have been in vain.

The story of the Venerable College, if we take into account the Saxon School, the "*Schola Anglorum*" that dates back to King Ina, the medieval hospice that followed it and the college or university erected by Gregory XIII in 1579, covers well nigh twelve centuries. The Virgilian "*diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est, viximus*" might well be its motto. Interrupted for awhile during the height of the French Revolution, it still survives and carries on its work. In its walls Cardinals Pole, Allen, Father Persons and his brother Jesuits ruled. It saw trying times and suffered from internal dissensions, but came safely out of the storm. After the French Revolution Cardinal Consalvi and Dr. Gradwell revived its fortunes. Nicholas Wiseman gave it something of an international reputation and through

him, as Dr. W. Barry points out, it is intimately connected with the Oxford and Tractarian movement, with Newman, the *Dublin Review* and the Restored Hierarchy of England. To the old college came Evelyn who saw its students in a play, and Milton who had dinner with the terrible Jesuits and was not poisoned. When Wiseman was rector, Macaulay "looked into the refectory" which he found much like the halls of the small colleges at Cambridge, in his time, that of Peterhouse for example. From the days of King Ina to those of George V and of the Popes of the Middle Ages to those of Benedict XV, from the rectors of the eighteenth century down to the present one, Mgr. Hinsley, the story of the *Schola Anglorum*, the hospice that followed it and the college proper is told by the eminent writer with all the mastery of fact, the interpretative and pictorial power, the simplicity of style for which he has long been known.

J. C. R.

Memories of My Son, Sergeant Joyce Kilmer. By ANNIE KILBURN KILMER. With Numerous Unpublished Poems and Letters. Fully Illustrated. New York: Brentano's. \$2.00.

Dedicated "to the mothers who mourn with a proud heart for their sons who gave their lives for honor's sake," this memoir of Sergeant Kilmer, is an interesting supplement to Mr. Holliday's two-volume work, reviewed by Father Daly in our issue of January 18, 1919. When her son Joyce was eighteen, Mrs. Kilmer writes, he was a licensed lay reader of the Protestant Episcopal Church and meant "to enter the ministry later on." But after his graduation from Columbia in 1908 and his subsequent marriage, "he seemed to lose all interest in his church." When five years had passed he was received into the Catholic Church, "a change of conviction," she attests, that "never brought a cloud between us. . . . I bless the day when he became a Catholic." The Memorial Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, will always remain to Mrs. Kilmer "a beatific vision. It seemed as though the great Catholic Church opened her arms wide and said: 'All this pomp and splendor I gladly give to dear Joyce Kilmer, who found his greatest comfort in his brief life with me.'"

Most of the book is made up of letters Sergeant Kilmer wrote his mother from 1906 to June 28, 1918, a few days before he was killed. Many of the letters are playful, affectionate ones describing his children's marvelous doings or telling of his literary projects, and generally ending with a short paternal exhortation like, "Be a good infant and enjoy yourself," or "In several respects you are an infant worthy of considerable enthusiastic approval." But other letters in the volume, while precious of course to a mother, have little interest for the general reader. The book is full of photographs and the verses Sergeant Kilmer used to send his mother on her birthdays and on St. Valentine's Day are published. Here is the sonnet he composed for Mrs. Kilmer in 1914 to accompany a book of his poems:

Gentlest of critics, does your memory hold
(I know it does) a record of the days
When I, a schoolboy, earned your generous praise
For halting verse and stories crudely told?
Over those boyish scrawls the years have rolled,
They might not bear the world's unfriendly gaze,
But still your smile shines down familiar ways,
Touches my words and turns their dross to gold.

Dearer today than in that happy time,
Comes your high praise to make me proud and strong.
In my poor notes you hear love's splendid chime
So unto you does this, my work belong.
Take, then, this little book of fragile rhyme,
Your heart will change it to authentic song.

W. D.

Conferences for Married Women. By Rev. REYNOLD KUEHNEL. New York. Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

Sermons on the Mass, the Sacraments and the Sacramentals. By Rev. THOMAS FLYNN, C. C. New York. Benziger Brothers.

Sermons in Miniature for Meditation. By Rev. HENRY E. O'KEEFE, C. S. P. New York. The Paulist Press.

Here are three books of sermons: "Conferences for Married Women" is well worth the careful consideration of Catholic mothers and of priests who preach to them. Explaining in detail the duties and obligations of mothers, the book outlines the proper training of the child from its birth to its days of maturity and mirrors for us the picture of "The Old-Fashioned Mother" who was blessed with a numerous offspring and who brought up her children in the fear of God. In the last few chapters the author briefly gives the story of St. Monica, "The Model Mother."

Lack of devotion at Mass and the services of the Church, want of reverence for holy things, distractions in God's house, and a consequent loss of many graces, are often the result of a failure to realize the meaning of the Holy Sacrifice, the Sacraments and the sacramentals. Father Flynn has given in the second book under review an interesting and instructive series of sermons, that, if thoughtfully read, ought to bring souls closer to Christ. Part I explains all the ceremonies of the Mass, and their significance; Part II, "The Rivers of Juda," deals with the Sacraments, their institution, their power and the need we have of them; Part III, "Springs of Water," tells of the sacramentals, a means of grace all too little known and made use of by many. Both priests and laymen will find the volume very useful.

Father O'Keefe's "Sermons in Miniature for Meditation" will be of assistance as a well-spring of thought to priests, and religious and many of the laity will also find the volume a strong appeal to higher things. Varied in material, forceful in style and instructive in the explanations of the texts and the lessons drawn, these sermons are sure to please. Illustrations from science, the arts, and history are copious and illuminating. Most of the sermons are short, but almost every sentence is capable of development, because of its power of suggestion.

A. R. M.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Some Recent Novels. "Miss Lulu Bett" (Appleton, \$1.75), Zona Gale's latest story, is a very good one. The admirably drawn central figure is a rather mature maiden of thirty-four who was never considered "strong enough" to earn her living but who has been, nevertheless, for fifteen years the uncomplaining household drudge of a dentist's family in the Middle West. Suddenly love comes to her with Ninian, a breezy Oregonian, but her Indian summer romance ends quite as suddenly as it began. The experience, however, wakes Lulu up, gives her a backbone and later a real husband. The other characters in the story are thoroughly lifelike, too. For in the Deacons the author portrays with discernment and fidelity a typical American family of the middle classes.—"Kid Scanlan" (Small, Maynard, \$1.75) is the title of another rollicking book by H. C. Witwer. The hero is a prize-fighter, turned movie-star, and on nearly every page something "thrilling" is described in the author's amusing argot.—"The Third Window" (Houghton, Mifflin, \$1.50), by Anne Douglas Sedgwick, is a short, well-constructed novel containing only three characters, unless Antonia's dead husband who pervades the story be considered a fourth. Colonel Saltonhall comes wooing his friend Malcolm's widow but her jealous kinswoman, Miss Latimer, seems to make Malcolm's protesting shade appear. The book's tragic end is the logical result, no doubt, of the creedless Antonia's foolish scruples. The author delineates her characters very subtly and

writes with artistic restraint.—The latest book of Louis Couperus, the Dutch novelist, to be translated by Mr. De Mattos, is "The Tour, a Story of Ancient Egypt" (Dodd, Mead, \$2.00). Lucius, a rich young Roman of Tiberius's time, journeys up the Nile in a splendid galley accompanied by a large retinue of slaves, including Cora, a Greek girl, on purpose to see all the abominations of Egypt which the author describes with a great parade of learning. The book could have been profitably left in its original Dutch.

A Historians' Number. The *Catholic Mind* for June 22 contains the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday's description of the object and character of the new American Catholic Historical Association that was founded at Cleveland last December. The organization is not meant to rival or supersede in any way the six Catholic historical societies that were already in existence in this country prior to 1919, but "looks to the members of these important groups for cordial cooperation and encouragement." Particularly good are the pages Dr. Guilday devotes to explaining the value of church history. The second article in the number is Father Wilfrid Parsons' very readable paper on the Catholic's "Freedom of Thought" as Tertullian, the clever second-century lawyer of Northern Africa, understood it. "The Church does not fetter freedom of thought, except in so far as *surmise* is made useless and irrational by *certainty*" is the conclusion reached. Dr. Thomas O'Hagen then discusses "History the Witness of Truth" taking the common misstatements about Spain as examples of how history should not be written. The issue ends with a proof that Luther never really uttered his renowned "God help me. I can do no other."

How Latin Was Hallowed.—In the following sonnet on "The Latin Tongue," contributed by Father James J. Daly, S.J., to the *June Bookman*, he shows in the sestet how the Church sanctified the language of the Caesars:

Like a loud-booming bell shaking its tower
Of granite blocks, the antique Latin tongue
Shook the whole earth: over all seas it flung
Tiremes of war, and bade grim legions scour
The world's far verges. Its imperial dower
Made Tullius a god; and Flaccus strung
Its phrases into garlands; while among
The high enchanters it gave Maro power.

Then Latin lost its purple pomp of war,
Its wine-veined laughter and patrician tears:
It cast its fleshly grossness, won a soul,
And trafficked far beyond the farthest star
With angel-cohorts, echoing through the years
In sacred embassies from pole to pole.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Abbey Press, Fort Augustus, Scotland:
A Calendar of Scottish Saints. By Dom Michael Barrett, O.S.B. Second Edition, Revised and Augmented. 2s. 6d.
Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York:
The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War. \$2.00; Religion Among American Men. \$1.50; The War and Religion. A Bibliography. \$1.50; The three foregoing books by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. The Church's Message to the Nation. By Harry Emerson Fosdick; Christian Principles Essential to a New World Order. By W. H. P. Faunce; The War and the Religious Outlook. By Robert E. Speer; Christian Aspects of Economic Reconstruction. By Herbert N. Shenton; The New Home Mission of the Church. By William P. Shriver; Christian Principles and Industrial Reconstruction. By Francis J. McConnell; The War and the Woman Point of View. By Rhoda E. McCulloch; The Church and Religious Education. By William Douglas Mackenzie. \$0.20 each.
Benziger Brothers, New York:
The Foundations of Morality. By Rev. Thomas Slater, S.J. \$1.25; Talks to Nurses. By Henry S. Spalding, S.J. \$1.50.
Boni & Liveright, New York:
Albany: the Crisis in Government, The Expulsion of the Five Socialist Assemblymen. By Louis Waldman. \$1.50; Liluli. By Romain Rolland. With Thirty-two Wood Engravings by Frans Masereel. \$1.50; The Best Psychic Stories. Edited with a Preface by Joseph Lewis French. \$1.75.

Brentano's, New York:

Memories of My Son, Sergeant Joyce Kilmer. By Anne Kilburn Kilmer. With Numerous Unpublished Poems and Letters. Fully Illustrated. \$2.00; Pax (Peace). By Lorenzo Marroquin. Translated by Isaac Goldberg, Ph.D., and W. V. Schierbrand, Ph.D. \$2.00.

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York:

The Tour. A Story of Ancient Egypt. By Louis Couperus. Translated from the Dutch by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. \$2.00; Sanity in Sex. By William J. Fielding. \$2.50.

Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y.:

Letters of Travel. By Rudyard Kipling. \$2.50; Finding a Way Out. By Robert Russo Moton. \$2.50; The Rescue, a Romance of the Shallows. By Joseph Conrad. \$2.00.

E. P. Dutton & Co., New York:

Luck on the Wing. Thirteen Stories of a Sky Spy. By Elmer Hasselt, Major, Air Service, U. S. Army. \$3.00; The French Revolution. A Study in Democracy. By Nesta H. Webster. \$8.00; The Ordeal of Mark Twain. By Van Wyck Brooks. \$3.00; Tamarisk Town. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. \$2.50.

George H. Doran Company, New York:

With the "Die-Hards" in Siberia. By Colonel John Ward, C.B., C.M.G., M.P. \$2.50; The Shadow-Cure. By J. H. Curle. \$2.00; The Girl on the Hilltop. By Kenyon Gambier. \$1.75; The Light Out of the East. By S. R. Crockett. \$1.90.

Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago:

Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England. By Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. \$2.00.

Harper & Brothers, New York:

The Hope of the World. By Woodrow Wilson. \$1.00; Japan, Real and Imaginary. By Sydney Greenbie. With Many Illustrations from Photographs. \$4.00; The Human Costs of the War. By Homer Folks. Illustrated with Photographs by Lewis W. Hine. \$2.25.

Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston:

In the Great Apache Forest. The Story of a Lone Boy Scout. By James Willard Schultz. With Illustrations. \$1.75; Fiddler's Luck. By Robert Haven Houghton. \$1.90; "That Damn Y." A Record of Overseas Service. By Katherine Mayo. With Illustrations. \$3.50.

P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York:

Mountains of Help. By Marie St. S. Elleker, O.S.D. With a Preface by Charles Plater, S.J. \$0.90; Living Temples. By Bede Jarrett, O.P. \$0.90.

Alfred A. Knopf, New York:

This Simian World. By Clarence Day, Jr. With Illustrations by the Author. \$1.50.

The Macmillan Co., New York:

A Brief History of the Great War. By Carleton J. H. Hayes. With Maps. \$3.50; Medieval Medicine. By James J. Walsh, M.D. \$2.75; The Foolish Lovers. By St. John G. Ervine. \$2.00; A Jewish View of Jesus. By H. G. Enelow; Divine Personality and Human Life. Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered in the University of Aberdeen in the Years 1918 and 1919. Second Course. By Clement C. J. Webb, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.

Maison de la Bonne Presse, Paris:

Recettes Domestiques et Rurales.

Mission Press, Techny, Ill.:

Missionary Mass Hymns. Words by Mrs. Evelyn L. Thomas. Music by Al. Karezynski. \$0.15.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York:

Germany After the Armistice. A Report Based on the Personal Testimony of Representative Germans Concerning the Conditions Existing in 1919. By Maurice Berger, Lieutenant in the Army of Belgium. With a Preface by Baron Beyens, Former Belgian Minister to Berlin. Translated by William L. McPherson. \$3.50.

Small, Maynard & Co., Boston:

Fairfax and His Pride. By Marie Van Vorst. \$1.75; Married Life. By May Edginton. \$1.75.

Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York:

Women's Wild Oats, Essays on the Re-fixing of Moral Standards. By C. Gasquoine Hartley. \$1.50.

The Stratford Co., Boston:

Songs of the Irish Revolution and Songs of the Newer Ireland. By William A. Miller. \$1.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York:

Hiker Joy. By James B. Connolly. With Illustrations by N. C. Wyeth. \$1.75.

Pierre Tequi, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris:

Instructions d'un Quart D'Heure par L'Abbe J. Pailler, 7 fr. 50; Dominicales. Tome II. De la Saint Joseph à la St. Pierre. 5 fr.; Vade-Mecum de Prédicateurs. Par Deux Missionnaires. 5 fr.; En Marge des Combats. Notre Dame de Lourdes et la Grande Guerre. Par Gabriel Joly. 3 fr. 50; Nos Tributs de Gloire, Retraite Donnée à Lourdes. Par Mgr. Tissier. 3.50; Le Bon Esprit au Collège. Par Mgr. Tissier. 3.50; Vers la Victoire. Discours. 1914-1919. Mgr. E. L. Julien. 5 fr.; Carnet de Jeanne D'Arc, 1412-1431. Par E. Roupain, S.J. 2 fr. 50; Admirable Histoire de Joseph. Par Abbe F. Ronault. 2 fr.; Transfigurée par l'Eucharistie et par la Lutte. Par Louis Lajoie, C.J.M. 1 fr. 50; Retraite de Première Communion Solennelle. Par J. Millot. 5 fr.; La Novice Parfait. Par Chanoine Emile Thenenot. 2 fr. 25; Un Caractère (Le Cardinal Mercier). Par Eug. Roupain, S.J. 2 fr.

University of California Press, Berkeley:

The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812. By Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D.

The Yale University Press, New Haven:

Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and Their Influence on the Literature of Europe. By Thomas Frederick Crane, Litt.D.

The Century Co., New York:

A Frenchwoman's Impressions of America. By Comtesse Madeleine De Bryas and Jacqueline De Bryas. \$2.50.

Jeannette G. Washburn Kelsey, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia:

Weathering the Storm. By Jeannette G. Washburn Kelsey (Patience Warren).

Sullivan Brothers, Lowell, Mass.:

Irish Catholic Genesis of Lowell. By George F. O'Dwyer.

Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., New York:

A Manual of the Ceremonies of Low Mass. Compiled and Arranged by the Rev. L. Kuenzel. \$2.50.

The Devin-Adair Co., New York:

Moods and Memories. By Edmund Leamy. \$2.00.

EDUCATION

Pickwickians at Washington

LOVERS of Dickens, and even some who were forced to read him as a school exercise, will recall with pleasure the immortal futilities of the opening pages of "Pickwick Papers." Age cannot wither them, and with the decades the indignant countenance of Mr. Blotton (of Aldgate) as he repeats "the hon. gent's false and scurrilous accusations" but glows the brighter as an indignant countenance should. "The hon. gent," continued Mr. Blotton, "was a humbug." But, of course, Mr. Blotton did not use the word in its ordinary sense. Personally, he esteemed Mr. Pickwick the most honorable of men; he considered him a humbug merely in a Pickwickian point of view. After a brief correspondence with the Department of Labor, indicted some two months ago, I am led to the conclusion that at least one governmental employee is wont to write his letters from the Pickwickian point of view.

"EVERY CHILD IN SCHOOL"

FOR the last year or two, printed leaves have been falling thick and fast from the Washington presses, but it is just possible that your name was not on the mailing list of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor. Mine was, and some of the Bureau's issues I read with interest. One which I nearly missed, bears the complete title, "Every Child in School: A Safeguard Against Child Labor and Illiteracy. Bureau Publication No. 64, Children's Year Follow-up Series No. 3." The purpose of this pamphlet, to awaken in all communities the "Back to School" and the "Stay in School" spirit, is altogether commendable. With the inflated wages for unskilled labor now prevailing in many localities, the inclination to take the children from school at the earliest moment working papers can be secured, will become much stronger by next September. The old idea that education always pays is still true, but when Johnny just out of school, can get fifteen dollars per week filling ink-wells, Johnny's parents naturally gravitate to an attitude of skepticism. Contrary to the rather common impression, the Bureau believes that poverty is not by any means the chief reason why schoolchildren seek employment in shops and factories. Many are simply "tired of school." Probably the majority of these children thus prematurely forced out of school to contribute later on to the swelling mass of inefficiency, unemployment and illiteracy, are the victims of penurious or careless parents, unable or unwilling to exercise a proper influence over their children.

BUT IN A SMITH-TOWNER SCHOOL

BUT the kernel of this pamphlet is found, in my opinion, on page 9. Under the heading "Work Still to be Done," and the subtitle "More and better schools needed in order that no child shall be deprived of the education to which he has a right," the reader is first presented with a eulogy of the Smith-Hughes act, providing Federal aid for vocational education. A subjoined paragraph advances the undeniable proposition that since three-fifths of all our children live outside the urban areas, the rural schools must not be overlooked. Federal aid for the improvement of these schools is then suggested, and the way made clear for the introduction of our ubiquitous friend, the now tottering Smith-Towner bill of 1919-1920.

In this country it is proposed to extend the principle of Federal aid to the elementary schools. The Towner bill introduced in Congress in May, 1919, seeks to find the alternative to child labor. . . . If Congress grants this appropriation it will mean that all the children of the country may in time have equal educational opportunities.

This quotation, with its setting, is an excellent example of the persistent propaganda, carried on at public expense, by a Washington bureau in behalf of pending legislation. The Assistant Secretary of Labor will not admit that it is in any sense "lobby-

ing." But I fear he uses a Pickwickian dictionary in framing his denial.

CHILD LABOR UNDER THE BILL

FOR the assertion that the Smith-Towner bill "seeks to find the alternative of child labor" is fabricated out of moonshine. With equal truth might this governmental pamphleteer have written that the bill seeks to find the alternative to the mortality of infants, nine months and under, or the alternative to Japanese colonization in California. The Smith-Towner bill seeks directly to establish the principle that education is "a concern of the nation" and, illogically, that therefore the nation, not the local community, must control education. It has no section bearing directly on child labor. Any State might accept all the provisions of the bill, and work all its children, of whatever age, for more than six months a year, and allow its children under seven years of age and over fourteen to work all the year around. The statement that the Smith-Towner monstrosity seeks the alternative to child labor, coupled with the inference which will surely force itself upon the reader unacquainted with the bill, that unless the plan of Messrs. Smith and Towner is adopted, children will be forced into the factories, is wholly characteristic of the Government's disingenuous propaganda, but utterly without warrant in fact. Certainly a bill which sanctions a school year of only twenty-four weeks cannot be considered a notable advance against, much less the alternative, to child labor.

RANK GOVERNMENTAL PROPAGANDA

ON reading that optimistic explanation of the Smith bill, I addressed myself to the Secretary of Labor, asking by what authority the Department had undertaken to lobby for the adoption of pending legislation. Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary, was kind enough to undertake the enlightenment of my dull understanding by the following "explanation":

It is not the intention of the Department of Labor to lobby for the adoption of pending legislation. Any statement, however, on child labor which ignores the close connection between child labor and the lack of educational facilities would be manifestly inadequate. The pamphlet to which you refer *merely states that the Towner bill is pending and gives in brief the provisions of that bill*. It does not ask for any support of the bill and cannot therefore be properly charged with an attempt to lobby for its adoption. (*Italics inserted.*)

There is no reason, of course, to believe that Mr. Post read either my letter of inquiry, the pamphlet in question, or the communication to which he appears to have signed his name. I have been told on good authority that Mr. Post is an intelligent man. "The pamphlet merely states," writes the alleged Mr. Post, "that the bill is pending." "Merely" is Pickwickian. It really means something else. For the pamphlet "merely"

1. Lists the bill under the general heading "Work Still to be Done";
2. Ranks it with measures to provide "more and better schools";
3. Brackets it with a measure described as "a step in the right direction";
4. Announces that the bill "seeks the alternative to child labor";
5. Interprets the bill as meaning the provision in time of "equal educational opportunities" for all children—a bill which permits a twenty-four week school year!

This is a somewhat comprehensive "merely."

It is not probable that the writer of the pamphlet thus singled out the Smith bill because he had a grudge against it. Nor, since he lists it with bills and acts, all of which win his enthusiastic admiration, can I allow myself to believe that he regards it with an indifferent eye. As he neither opposes the bill, nor is indifferent to it, I reach the conclusion that he approves it, and included it in his pamphlet to win it popular favor. Further, since the writer is in the pay of the Govern-

ment, and the pamphlet was issued at the expense of the Government, I think I am justified in reiterating my claim that page 9 is an illustration of what Congress should make a crime: governmental lobbying for pending legislation.

But I am far from applying to Mr. Post the epithet hurled against Mr. Pickwick by Mr. Blotton (of Aldgate). The Assistant Secretary escapes on two counts. First, he probably did not write the letter to which his name is appended, and second, granting that he did, he meant his retort to be understood in a Pickwickian sense.

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

SOCIOLOGY

"The Course of Empire"

IN the Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society is a series of five paintings by Thomas Cole depicting "The Course of Empire." On each canvas the same landscape is pictured, though seen from different angles, while the changes wrought by the hand of man pass over the successive scenes. The lesson of the artist is well worth careful study in our day.

Conformably with our popular sociological notion, the first picture bears the legend, "Savage State," though we know historically that no civilization has ever evolved from savagery unaided, while in countless instances the clear evidence still remains of the descent of savage tribes from higher stages. But overlooking this we come to the picture itself. In the distance is a hill that ends abruptly at the dark waters of a bay which are faintly seen beyond a wild and rocky landscape, with gorges, thickets and storm-beaten trees. On the crest of the hill an isolated rock is balanced, left there by the erosion of the waters in the earth's prime. The clouds that roll about it, sullen and black as night, are slowly being dispelled by the breaking dawn. Over a brook that whitens into foam a roe is leaping, pursued by a huntsman clad in skins and holding in his outstretched arm a long and sinuous bow. Dimly seen afar, a troop of his fellows dance in the misty light, while on a high plateau a circle of wigwams stands, with a great column of fire and smoke ascending. It is, let us say, the morning sacrifice.

Man is man precisely as now we know him. In his song and dance we behold the beginnings of art. His arrow overtakes the prey and his mind is keen, alert and resourceful. The morning holocaust was offered to the one true God, and the first art did Him worthy service in song and rhythmic dance. Our economic preconceptions, indeed, make primitive man look to the chase for his sole support. While this is true of the savage fallen from a higher state into the lowest decline, it does not follow that husbandry and the pastoral life were not soon developed by the first human beings, as Scripture, indeed, tells us that they were.

"THE ARCADIAN STATE."

"THE Arcadian" or "Pastoral State" is the title of the second painting. Ages passed before man had risen to the material comfort portrayed. In the distance is the familiar hill with its mighty boulder. The flocks are grazing on a green slope, and on an upland tract of soil a ploughman traces his furrow, plodding after the laboring kine. Quite to the front of the picture sits a primitive Euclid marking geometric figures with a rod in the soft earth. The rivulet is crossed by a bridge of stone slabs on which a "little boy blue" is drawing with red ochre a human figure, just such as may be seen today on the paved sidewalks of Manhattan. Another child is gathering flowers, while the mother stands near, a dignified matronly figure with spindle in hand. Beneath a shady tree a rustic Tityrus is playing on his oaten pipe to the dancing girls. Religion, too, occupies its proper place, for set conspicuously upon an eminence overlooking the little village by the bay, a stately temple rises. Plain shafts support the roof. In its early simplicity was manifest a purer worship than that which existed when all the hills were crowned with temples, and false gods

and goddesses were numberless as the vices of the men who conceived them. Thus polytheism was to take the place of the first true monotheistic religion, yet this was never to be wholly lost at any period.

"CONSUMMATION OF EMPIRE"

BUT a transformation passes over the scene. "The Consummation of Empire" is the new theme. There to the right we recognize the distant hill, with its balanced boulder untouched by the hand of men. Through the landscape flows the broad water of the bay, and on both sides monuments, palaces, temples and public edifices, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, crowd upward from the blue waters. Galleys of war throng the harbor and graceful barges spread their silken sails of varied colors, that glow reflected in the tide.

To the left is a massive Doric temple, with its carved pediment. Long colonnades stretch upward to some spacious administrative hall, with its serried columns and its crowning dome. On the opposite shore magnificent palaces rise, with rich statuary, huge vases and luxurious draperies, Tyrean purple flashing against silks of white and gold. Wealth and art have here their home. Lifted aloft on clustered pillars stands a white-robed goddess holding out in her hand a Winged Victory. A wall with stately caryatids leads to a massive bridge over which a triumphal procession moves. On his exalted throne the victor is borne along, proud in imperial scarlet, while below him throng the horsemen and white-vested counselors follow in solemn ranks. Before him rises the triumphal arch; surmounted with glittering armor and arms. Wide-spread, lavish drapery hangs in gorgeous folds from bridge and monuments. Large in the foreground, prodigally designed, a fountain fills its marble basin with the waters of the selfsame spring over which, in that misty morning, far away in the past, the roe had leaped pursued by the eager huntsman clad in the skins of the chase.

Human glory and material development are here at their apogee. Man could do no more than this. Art, architecture, music, sculpture; the fruit of the loom; whatever wealth can purchase and the human mind design in outward magnificence and brilliancy; ease and opulence; culture and luxury; empire and victory—all are combined in one narrow canvas. It is material evolution at its height; and yet it marks a decline, a supreme failure at its height of triumph. In place of a simple and pure religion, with its one true God, there is a decadent polytheism. In place of freedom, contentment and true happiness that wait on toil and virtue, there are a cringing spirit and a world-dominating ambition. Wealth, vice and corruption have replaced the pure joys of the domestic hearth. We still continue in our mistaken theories falsely to gage man by his surroundings. Yet even in early Rome there was more hardy virtue, more genuine liberty, more true manhood and pure womanly virtue, than in the full noon-day of the Empire's glory; when St. Paul could see in it nothing but cruelty, lust and greed; a gilded sepulcher.

"DESTRUCTION."

AND now, as we would expect, comes "Destruction." A gloomy pall overspreads the sky. Faintly through the darkness, as of a world crumbling to ruin, can be seen the distant hill with its solitary, isolated boulder. Red flames are bursting forth in a mighty conflagration from the palaces to our right. The pall of cloud is a pall of smoke from the city doomed to destruction. Men and women, clamoring and falling beneath the swords of a barbarian soldiery fill the foreground of the scene, where the splashing fountain is clogged with the bodies of the dead and dying. Dense multitudes, with agonized faces, are rushing to the water's side, where the massive bridge has been broken away and a meager structure spans the stream, over which the struggling masses pour falling precipitous into the engulfing waters. The black waves are faintly lit by the

ghastly conflagrations of the sinking ships filled with despairing fugitives. Loot, murder, butchery; death and horror everywhere; while blazing firebrands are carried through the streets.

By the fountain-side a gigantic warrior-figure had been erected, dominating all the scene. With shield advanced, body tensely stretching forward, and the unvanquished sword in his sinewy right hand, it was the true embodiment of the nation's ideals of force and might. By these, and by the skill and craft of statesmanship had the great empire been created. Written over all was the motto of the modern superman, the same in business as in politics and war: "Let him take who can." But now the sword-hand of that soldier-image was broken at the wrist; the head, with cold, relentless and imperious eyes, lay shattered on the pavement; and the edge of the protecting shield was broken by the missiles of a crushing defeat. Human power, glory, art and riches had over-reached themselves. A purely materialistic development, losing sight of the things of the spirit, defying the restraints of religion, creating its own gods after the conceits of its own heart: Mars, Mammon, Venus, had produced the authentic superman, the apex, as we are proudly told in our own material days, of materialistic evolution. But the day of vengeance was not far off, as it must come to every nation that sinks to this decline, no matter what may be its material triumphs in war, in commerce or in art.

"DESOLATION."

AND then, last scene of all, "Desolation." A solitude far other than that of primal wildernesses, the solitude of Babylon, and Nineveh and Tyre. The moon is silently looking down, half veiled in clouds. Its light falls on the jutting hill with its lone boulder, still resting firmly balanced as when man first looked on it. Masses of carved stones show where the proud palaces had once stood and the white city lay sunk in luxury, vice and greed, and in all that this same pagan materialism has taught anew in our day, as if it were some unheard of acquisition, that is proudly conned in schools and universities, practised in high places and made the common argument among the masses. It matters not whether we call it by the name of Dagon or Astarte worship, a monist creed or a humanitarian cult, eugenism or birth-control, a proletarian dictatorship or an orgy of profiteering. It is always the same dull thing, under different names, and adapted to different times, which the Scripture calls "the world," that world for which Christ said that he would not pray, the world of the three concupiscences which must first be idolized, under the title of some godhead or some science, that it can thus be suitably dignified before it is proposed for our worship.

But the pride of "the world" passes while the Word of God remains. Merely an arch is left as we turn to our picture, to show where stood the massive bridge across which poured the mighty pageant in the day of triumph when all ambitions had been achieved. Stray pillars, here and there, stand out from the bare landscape and white stones project from the brown earth. In a broken basin the fountain gurgles, as it flowed of old at the dawn of human life, and close before us, in desolate magnificence, a solitary column stands, last mournful token of the vanished splendors. On its broken capital a black heron broods over her nest of straws, while amid the fragments at its base wild shrubs and ferns are growing, and the venturous ivy climbs up to the broken acanthus leaves that crowned it in the day of glory that has passed away.

And what of the descendants of those men and women who had once populated this solitude, of the few who in that night of horrors sought safety in the hills or were dragged away into barbarian slavery? Who knows but some archeologist may discover them in our day and class them with the "primitives," the supposed original undeveloped savages.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J.

NOTE AND COMMENT

The National Catholic Community House

THE Catholic Women's Club at Washington has crowned its work by the establishment of a National Catholic Community House where young girls, who come as strangers to the city, can obtain a room for a dollar a day. Every effort is made to make the guests feel at home. There are pleasant parlors, a fine reading room and library, and an excellent cafeteria. The time limit for a guest is two weeks, but a well-organized room registry gives her the assurance of finding a comfortable home, and in the interval she will not be required to have a Rockefeller bank account to pay for her hotel accommodations. Whenever necessary the employment bureau will assist in finding a suitable position. The need of such an establishment had been growing in Washington for many years, and was intensified greatly during the past few years. The influx of more than 75,000 women workers into the District of Columbia, to meet the clerical needs of the Government, brought about a condition of congestion that required the united efforts of all agencies interested in the welfare of girls and women. So various community houses were established at Washington under the auspices of the National Catholic War Council. The Maura Club was opened June 6, 1918, by the Catholic Women's Service Club. The Calvert Club accommodated twenty residents. The next venture was the Gibbons Club, and finally the O'Hern Club, named after the genial president of the Catholic Women's Service Club. The National Catholic Community House, 601 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., was the result of the desire for a central home, which could serve as headquarters and supply just such social, recreational and educational activities as this establishment now offers. To repair and equip the building for this purpose a donation of \$25,000 was made by the National Catholic War Council at the time when this project was first launched. Those wishing to find accommodations here should address the room registry secretary, Mildred Burke, National Catholic Community House. Classes of girls from private schools can find rooms, guides and chaperons at the N. C. C. H.

A Significant Labor Report

THE report of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor at the opening session of the Montreal convention suggests the following course of action to meet the problem of the high cost of living:

- (1) Purchase by the Government of standard goods from producers, and distribution of same through the regular retailers at prices fixed by the Government.
- (2) Taxation to take all the excessive war profits of 1916-1920, and the use of the money to extinguish the floating debt and buy up a part of the liberty and victory bonds, for the purpose of reducing the inflated credit and increasing the value of the dollar.
- (3) Extension of Government credit to properly organized cooperative societies, and the protection of co-operatives against discrimination by wholesalers and manufacturers.
- (4) Control of credit by a public agency.
- (5) Government boards to investigate profits and prices, and publicity of tax returns.

While these features of the report are of the highest interest, equal attention should be called to the demand for an increased participation of labor in the direction of industry. Summarizing this significant document the N. C. W. C. concludes: "The report says that industry today requires more democracy, and that the worker should have a voice in its direction. Goods should be produced for use and not for profit alone. Industry also requires bold use of the best processes and machinery, but labor will continue, it says, to resist the introduction of improved processes and machinery when done at the expense of the workers."